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No. 4

NATIONAL ELEMENTS IN THE CAREER OF
ST. ATHANASIUS

Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr.

THE ULTRAMONTANISM OF SAINT BONIFACE

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IN MEMORIAM

BOOK REVIEWS

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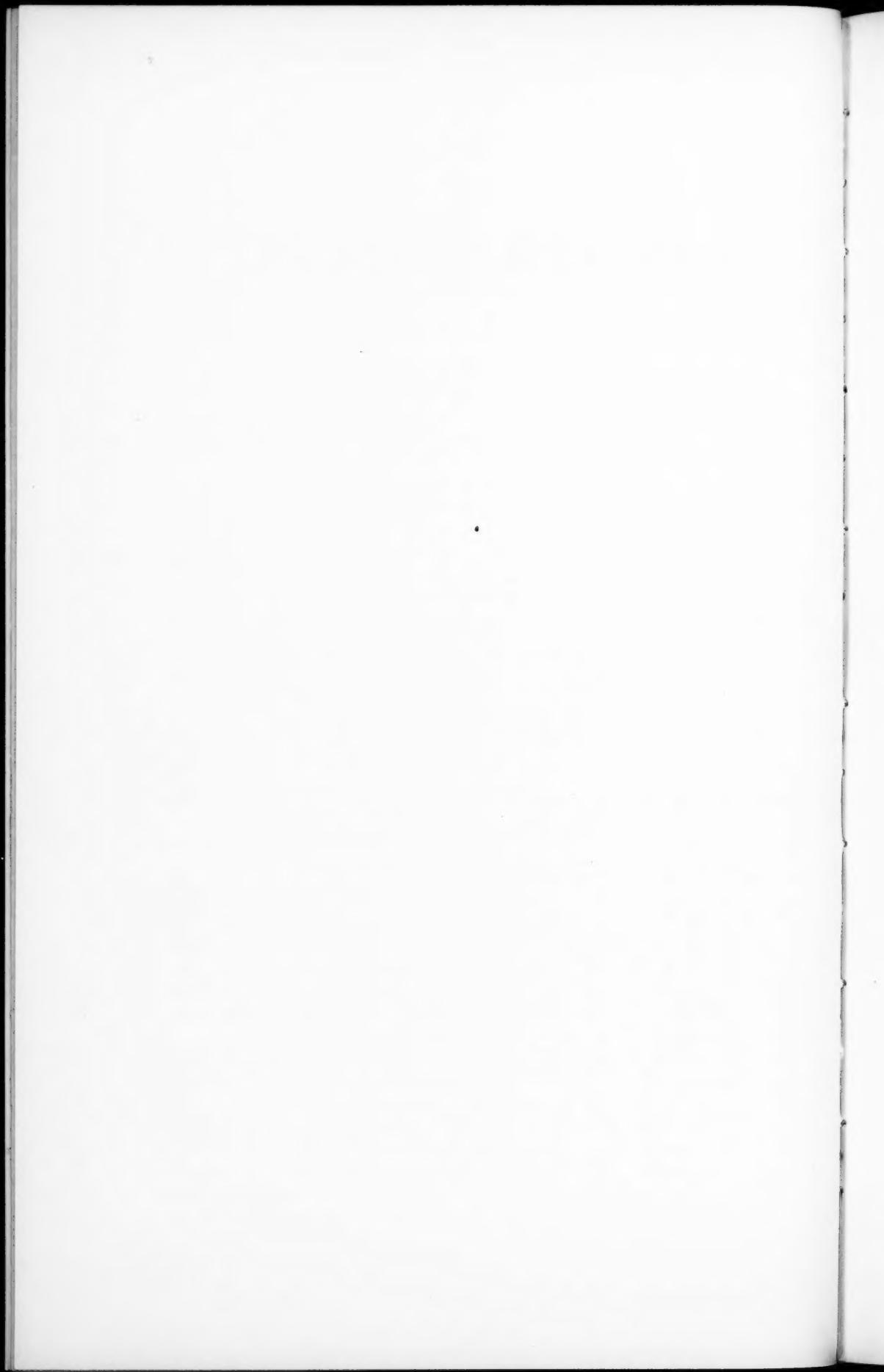
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NATIONAL ELEMENTS IN THE CAREER OF ST. ATHANASIUS

EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY, JR.

New York City

It has been recognized for some time that nationalism is a factor to be reckoned with in the ecclesiastical history of the later Roman Empire. Certainly the history of the Monophysites after Chalcedon is largely the story of the struggle of Egyptian and Syrian national feeling against the Empire.¹ In all probability the bishops of Alexandria who in the two generations before Chalcedon combatted the rise of the imperial church at Constantinople—Theophilus, Cyril, and Dioscorus—were supported by the patriotism of the Egyptian nation as well as by the pride of the Alexandrian see.² But there has not yet been any answer to the question, when did this union of Christianity and nationalism in Egypt begin?

The discussion of this problem involves interrogating our sources on a subject they do not consciously treat and must be a matter of interpretation rather than merely of quotation of evidence. The problem could be stated in two ways; the church historian asks, when did Egyptian Christianity become nationalist? while for Egyptian history the problem is, when did Egyptian nationalism become Christian? The Egyptian nation, with its language, its religion, and some remnants of its literature and culture, had continued to exist through the whole period of Greco-Roman dominance. In the Coptic church it was to find once more the means to vigorous self-expression.³ When did the union of church and nation take place? It was in the fourth century, perhaps rather

¹ Cf. Wigram, *The Separation of the Monophysites* and Jean Maspero, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie*.

² Cf. Woodward, *Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire*.

³ On the national character of Coptic Christianity, cf. Maspero, *op. cit.*, chaps. 1-2.

early in that century, that the majority of the Egyptians began to profess Christianity. For light on our problem we turn naturally to the career of the great fourth-century bishop of Alexandria, St. Athanasius. I am not concerned with his important place in the general history of the Catholic church and of Christian thought, but solely with his relation to the rise of national Egyptian Christianity. With this problem in mind, I shall survey certain well-known facts about Athanasius and others contained in documents recently published, grouping them around the five exiles he suffered.

Significant facts to note in the history of each exile are (1) the forces arrayed against Athanasius; (2) the terms of the decree issued against him or, when there was no formal decree, the government's intention; (3) the manner of Athanasius' departure from Alexandria and the extent to which the decree was obeyed, or the intention carried out; and (4) the manner of Athanasius' return. Soon after his accession in 328 agitation against him was begun by the Arians of Egypt and elsewhere, and by the Meletians of Egypt. The decisions of Nicaea had not succeeded in settling the Meletian schism, a legacy to the Egyptian church from the days of persecution, and the Meletians continued to exist as a persecuted sect.⁴ In 334 Athanasius was summoned to a council at Caesarea, but did not go.⁵ The year after he was deposed by a council at Tyre, mainly on charges of roughness and violence.⁶ He appealed to the emperor in person against the council. Eusebius of Nicomedia followed with a new charge, that Athanasius had threatened to stop the sailing of the grain fleet for Constantinople; Athanasius, he said, was "rich and powerful and able to do anything." This was practically a charge of treason, since the grain-tax was always the Roman government's chief interest in Egypt. Constantine therefore banished Athanasius to Treves.⁷ After the death of Constantine, in 337, his eldest son, Constantine II, who was favorable to Athanasius, ordered his restoration, and he was welcomed back to Alexandria in November of the same year. Our sources speak vaguely of tumults which marred the happiness of this return.⁸

Those responsible for the second exile were the Arians outside

⁴ Sozomen, ii, 21-22; Socrates, i, 27; the charges of violence on the part of Athanasius are partly confirmed by the Meletian papyri published by H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians at Alexandria*; in *Apologia contra Arianos*, 59, Athanasius seems to condemn the Nicene clemency to the Meletians.

⁵ *Festal Index*, 6; Sozomen, ii, 25; Bell, *op. cit.*

⁶ Sozomen, ii, 25; Socrates, i, 28-32; *Apol. c. Arianos*, 59-85.

⁷ Sozomen, ii, 28; Socrates, i, 35; *Apol. c. Arianos*, 9, 86-87.

⁸ *Apol. c. Arianos*, 87, 7; *Festal Index*, 10-11; Sozomen, iii, 5; Socrates, ii, 8.

Egypt, Constantius, now emperor in the East, and, to a lesser extent, Arians at Alexandria. Again Athanasius was charged with violence and with a political offence—this time with embezzlement of the portion of the grain-tax assigned by Constantine to the church of Alexandria for charitable purposes.⁹ Ecclesiastical charges were also brought, and a synod at Antioch consecrated a certain Gregory for the see of Alexandria.¹⁰ His recognition was ordered by the Arian sympathizer who had been sent out as prefect, and carried out by violent seizure of the principal churches. Athanasius escaped and sailed for Rome to seek reinstatement by ecclesiastical procedure.¹¹ The councils outside Egypt which considered the question need not be discussed here. As a result of various developments, in 344 Constantius adopted a milder attitude. Supporters of Athanasius who had been banished to Armenia were allowed to return, and further persecution of Athanasians at Alexandria was forbidden.¹² After the death of Gregory in 345 Constantius invited Athanasius to return to his church, which he did in the following year.¹³ We may note that in connection with this exile there is less reference to opposition in Egypt than before, while the Egyptian bishops form a solid block in support of Athanasius at the council of Sardica.¹⁴

For the next ten years Athanasius was peacefully engaged in the administration of the Egyptian church. In 350 Constans, the remaining brother of Constantius, was killed. The usurper Magnentius sent an embassy to Constantius, two members of which came by way of Alexandria, probably to see if they could secure the support of Athanasius and the Egyptians. Athanasius met them instead with laments for Constans, and seized the occasion to reaffirm the loyalty of his church to Constantius, who also assured him at this time of his support.¹⁵ In 353 Constantius defeated Magnentius and became undisputed sole emperor. He at once began working actively for the union of the church on an Arian basis.¹⁶ An official was sent to Alexandria with a letter to Athanasius granting his request to be allowed to come to Italy. Since, according to his account, he had made no such request, he suspected an attempt to get

⁹ *Apol. c. Arianos*, 3, 18.

¹⁰ Sozomen, iii, 5; Socrates, ii, 9-10.

¹¹ *Epistola Encyclica*, 2-6; Sozomen, iii, 6, 8.

¹² Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum*, 21.

¹³ *Festal Index*, 18; *Apol. c. Arianos*, 51-56.

¹⁴ Cf. signatures in *Apol. c. Arianos*, 50.

¹⁵ Athanasius, *Apologia ad Constantium*, 9-10, 23; *Festal Index*, 22.

¹⁶ Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum*, 31-46.

him away from his see, and refused politely.¹⁷ In 355 another official was sent to arrest Athanasius. From Athanasius' later defence to Constantius we gather that the charges put forward were of fairly recent acts of *lesé-majesté*—stirring up Constans against his brother, supporting Magnentius, and showing disrespect for the emperor by using, before its completion and consecration, a church which had been built at his expense, and by refusing to come to Italy. His attempt, about which we have no detailed information, was unsuccessful. It required more than an imperial notary to arrest the pope of Alexandria in his own city.¹⁸ Meanwhile the emperor's Arianizing policy was being enforced elsewhere. In January, 356, the Dux Syrianus began concentrating troops at Alexandria. In response to inquiries he denied having any orders from the emperor, and promised that he would do nothing about Athanasius until the matter had been referred to Constantius. Nevertheless, in February the church where Athanasius was officiating at a vigil was surrounded by troops, who broke in and attempted to seize the bishop. He was, however, able to secure both the escape of the congregation and his own.¹⁹ Athanasius was now in the position of a fugitive evading arrest. Partly in the search for him, partly in the attempt to secure conformity to a pro-Arian formula, many of the Egyptian bishops suffered banishment or more severe punishment, and numerous outrages occurred at Alexandria.²⁰ In June the churches of Alexandria were handed over to the Arians, and in 357 a second intruding bishop, George, arrived. For the rest of the reign of Constantius an Arian bishop was maintained by the army at Alexandria and such bishops as would not support him were ejected from their sees. Athanasius could not be found. Safely concealed by his supporters, sometimes among the monks of the desert, sometimes in Alexandria itself, he defended his cause by writing.²¹ In 361 Constantius died. Early the next year Julian's edict allowing the return of all bishops banished by Constantius was published, and Athanasius came back to his church.²²

Almost immediately Julian wrote to the Alexandrians declaring that he had recalled exiles to their countries, not to their sees,

¹⁷ *Apol. ad Constantium*, 19.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2-22; *Festal Index*, 27.

¹⁹ *Historia Arianorum*, 81; *Apologia ad Constantium*, 22-26; Athanasius, *Apologia de Fuga*, 24; *Festal Index*, 28; *Historia Acephala*, 4-5.

²⁰ *Apol. ad Constantium*, 27.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 28-35; *Festal Index*, 29-32; *Historia Acephala*, 6.

²² *Festal Index*, 33-34; *Historia Acephala*, 10.

and ordering Athanasius to leave Alexandria at once. This edict was disregarded, and so was followed by another banishing Athanasius from Egypt, and a third rebuking the Alexandrians for their petitions in his favor.²³ Athanasius once more withdrew to the country, and eluded his pursuers as successfully as during the third exile. In 363 Julian was killed. Athanasius passed through Alexandria privately, met the new emperor, Jovian, in Syria, and "settled church affairs." He then publicly returned to Alexandria, fortified with an imperial letter.²⁴

Two years later an Arianizing emperor once more ruled in the East. In May, 365, Valens banished from their cities the bishops who had been expelled under Constantius and had returned under Julian. For a time it was doubted whether this applied to Athanasius, since his last banishment was not under Constantius but under Julian. In October, however, he escaped one more attempt at arrest and withdrew to a house in the suburbs. But the emperor was weak, and had troubles elsewhere. On February 1, 366, an imperial notary announced the recall of Athanasius and, with the notables of Alexandria, escorted him back to the city.²⁵

The history of these five exiles gives us much significant information about Athanasius' position in Egypt. Where we have the evidence, in the first three exiles, it is on civil, not ecclesiastical, charges that Athanasius is banished. Constantine and Constantius treat him as guilty, not of heresy, but of treason. As early as 335 the bishop of Alexandria could plausibly be accused of resisting the imperial administration. His political importance is shown by the fact that in time of civil war both Constantius and Magnentius seek to gain his support. The evidence for the last two exiles is less clear. Julian's petulant edicts may be motivated merely by his dislike for so prominent a Galilean. Charges are mentioned in the time of Valens, but our sources do not specify what they were. There can be no doubt, however, that the Egyptian church was already a national unit so strong as to be offensive to an absolute government.²⁶

We may note Athanasius' increasing success in disobeying imperial commands. To the first exile he quietly submits. The second is a withdrawal from Egypt for an attempt at vindication, finally

²³ Julian, *Epistles*, 26, 6, 51; *Historia Acephala*, 11.

²⁴ *Festal Index*, 35-36; *Historia Acephala*, 12-13.

²⁵ *Festal Index*, 37; *Historia Acephala*, 15-16.

²⁶ Cf. the tone of Constantius' letters, *Apol. ad Const.*, 30-31, and of Philostorgius, iii, 12.

successful. During the third the emperor's men looked for Athanasius and could not find him. During the fourth he directly disobeyed an order to leave the country. There is a similar progress in the way in which these exiles terminate. From the first two Athanasius is recalled by imperial clemency. The third and fourth are brought to an end by a succeeding emperor's reversal of his predecessor's general ecclesiastical policy, the fifth by an emperor's direct reversal of his own action. Valens was a weaker man than, say, Constantine, and had rebellions to worry about. Yet there must have been something in Egypt and Athanasius which led him to give up in his case a policy he was still following elsewhere.

There is some growth in the completeness of the support given to Athanasius at Alexandria. Egyptian Arians and Meletians were active in preferring the charges which led to the first exile. In the years before the council of Tyre the Meletians were a well-organized sect, important enough to be the object of persecution. It was possible to raise an Alexandrian mob for the disorders which preceded the second exile.²⁷ In the government's attempt to replace the Athanasian bishops during the third exile we hear of a combination of Arians and Meletians in furnishing candidates for the vacant sees.²⁸ The violence at Alexandria, however, is the work of soldiers, assisted by a few Arians and pagans. It was necessary to exert pressure even on city officials and the officers of pagan temples to secure their support for the intruded bishop George.²⁹ George sat very uneasily on his throne, supported mainly by military force. In the reign of Julian he was lynched by the people of Alexandria.³⁰ Under Julian, the city of Alexandria, apparently officially through its magistrates, protested against the fourth exile of Athanasius.³¹ Under Valens, the intended fifth exile raised riots at Alexandria, the prefect and his officials, we are told, being relatively few in number.³² In 367 the Arian claimant to the see entered the city secretly. He was in danger from the whole population, pagan and Christian, and was only saved by being escorted out of town by the prefect and the *dux*.³³

Back of Alexandria lies Egypt, and its support is more im-

²⁷ *Epiſtola Encyclica*, 3-5.

²⁸ Athanasius, *Ad Episcopos Aegypti*, 22.

²⁹ *Hist. Arianorum*, 54, and references in note 19, above.

³⁰ *Historia Acephala*, 8.

³¹ Julian, *Epistles*, 51.

³² *Historia Acephala*, 15.

³³ *Festal Index*, 39; *Historia Acephala*, 18.

portant. Here Athanasius was safe during the third and fourth exiles. The stories told of his escapes and concealments are important as reflecting popular feeling. The escape from church which began the third exile impressed the popular imagination, as well it might, and a similar story, somewhat heightened, was told of the beginning of the second.³⁴ While Athanasius was being looked for elsewhere, it was believed that he was safely concealed in the house of a supporter at Alexandria³⁵ or in an empty tomb.³⁶ The Pachomian monks remembered with pride their constancy when an official had come to look for Athanasius among them.³⁷ It was told how, under Julian, Athanasius left Alexandria in a boat and then ordered it to return. On the way the boat was passed by another with Athanasius' pursuers, who called out "Where is Athanasius?" The bishop's party, or Athanasius himself, answered "Not far" and returned to Alexandria. There Athanasius remained in hiding for the rest of Julian's reign.³⁸ This contradicts our best evidence, which is that Athanasius retired to the Thebaid during this period;³⁹ but the existence of the story is itself a historical fact of the greatest importance. A monastic document relates, on the authority of Athanasius himself, a fragment of his conversation with Theodore, abbot of Tabennae, when concealed on a boat belonging to Theodore. The reason for its preservation is Theodore's announcement of Julian's death, which was taking place far away at that moment.⁴⁰ Such stories as these may be expected in any situation in which a man proscribed by the government is supported by a whole nation. They could be paralleled from the later history of the Coptic church and from national movements in many parts of the world. Their being told about Athanasius is significant evidence as to his position among the Egyptian people.

There are many parallels in the events of the time of Athanasius to those of the period after Chalcedon. Both in the fourth century and in the fifth and sixth, Egypt, a unit somewhat separate from the rest of the empire, did not follow immediately the trend

³⁴ Sozomen, iii, 6; Socrates, ii, 11. Athanasius writing at the time, mentions no such incident (*Epistola Encyclica*, 5).

³⁵ Sozomen, v, 6.

³⁶ Socrates, iv, 13.

³⁷ *Vita Pachomii*, in *Acta Sanctorum, Maii*, iii, 1680, pp. 22*-44*; chap. 88.

³⁸ Socrates, iii, 14; Theodoret, iii, 5.

³⁹ *Festal Index*, 35; *Historia Acephala*, 13.

⁴⁰ Letter of Ammon, in *Acta Sanctorum, Maii*, iii, pp. 54*-61*; chap. 23.

of ecclesiastical politics in the rest of the church. There were periods after 451 when a Coptic patriarch was left unmolested while conformity to Chalcedon was being enforced elsewhere; such was the situation of Athanasius during the years immediately preceding his third exile, and in the period between his last return and his death. There were periods when a Chalcedonian patriarch was maintained at Alexandria by military force and the local government party while Egypt was left to its own church; such was the condition during the second exile. There were some periods of persecution when the attempt was made to install Chalcedonian bishops throughout Egypt; a similar condition existed during the third exile. The outstanding features of the politico-ecclesiastical situation in Egypt of 451-640 begin to appear in the fourth century. In both periods the local officials commonly sympathize with the national church, and governors have to be sent specially from the court when vigorous action is to be taken against it.⁴¹ In both periods the emperor's church—Arian in the fourth century, Chalcedonian in the sixth—had the support of a genuine, but small, following at Alexandria, mainly Greek-speaking, and of a government party, largely official and military. In both periods the bishop of Alexandria, strong in the support of monks and people, can disappear into a haystack, so to speak, anywhere in Egypt. The chief difference between the two periods, regarded merely as episodes in Egyptian history, is the figure of Athanasius, whose greatness is of course unequalled by any later Coptic leader.⁴²

Something may be said as to the methods Athanasius used in organizing his national support. As bishop of Alexandria he was the head of the most closely-knit ecclesiastical province of the time. While the foundations of this organization had been laid by Athanasius' predecessors, it is under him that we first see it in full operation. The patriarch, as we may by anticipation call Athanasius, could marshal a numerous hierarchy around him. At councils he was supported by the solid vote of the Egyptian episcopate.⁴³ In time of persecution defections were few and confessors for the archbishop's cause many;⁴⁴ the few bishops who did desert found that their dioceses stood by the patriarch and not by them. While

⁴¹ Philagrius before the second exile (*Hist. Arianorum*, 9), Syrianus before the third; so Narses under Justinian, Cyrus under Heraclius.

⁴² On the later history, cf. Maspero, *Histoire des patriarchs*, and A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*.

⁴³ e. g., Tyre, *Apol. c. Arianos*, 71, 77-79; Sardica, *Ibid.*, 50.

⁴⁴ *Apol. ad Constantium*, 27-28; *Hist. Arianorum*, 71-73.

bishops were elected locally, the elections were confirmed and undoubtedly often influenced from Alexandria, and resulted in the promotion of many friends of Athanasius.⁴⁵ The annual letter sent to each diocese and monastery to announce the date of Easter reminded the Egyptian church of its unity and sometimes included news of common interest, such as the names of newly-elected bishops.⁴⁶

Apparently at the very beginning of his episcopate Athanasius saw the importance of consolidating the unity of the Egyptian church. The vigor of his language and his actions against the Meletians⁴⁷ is probably to be explained by the conviction that such an internal schism would furnish a great opportunity to the enemies of Egypt and its church. An interesting comparison might be made between the Meletians and the Donatists. The two schisms originated under similar circumstances; each rapidly acquired numbers and organization; each appealed to the native population with its anti-Roman tendencies.⁴⁸ But in Egypt the Catholics soon found themselves the anti-imperial church and so were able to gain the support of national feeling. Probably the persecutions which Athanasius endured did much more to reduce Meletianism to insignificance than those which he inflicted.

Soon after his accession Athanasius undertook a visitation of all Egypt and Libya,⁴⁹ evidence that he saw the importance of keeping in touch with the whole of the nation. Hailed at his election as "one of the ascetics,"⁵⁰ Athanasius maintained contact throughout his life with the chief national movement of his time, monasticism. As a friend of Antony he received his support at a critical moment, the great hermit coming to Alexandria personally during the troubles which preceded the second exile to deny the rumors spread by the enemies of Athanasius that he was on their side. In writing his life Athanasius took care to point out that Antony had inculcated respect for the clergy and had stood out firmly against Arianism and Meletianism.⁵¹ On his visitation of the Thebaid in 330, Athanasius was received with enthusiasm by

⁴⁵ Cf. Athanasius' letter to Dracontius (*Epistle*, 49) urging him to accept the episcopate.

⁴⁶ *Festal Letters*, 11 and 19.

⁴⁷ For actions see note 4 above; for language cf. *Apol. c. Arianos*, 59, *Hist. Arianorum*, 78.

⁴⁸ Evidence as to the organization and Coptic character of the Meletians in Bell, *op. cit.*

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⁴⁹ *Festal Index*, 2-6.

⁵⁰ *Apol. c. Arianos*, 6.

⁵¹ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, 67-71; *Festal Index*, 10.

Pachomius and his monks and the connection thus established was kept up by letters and by occasional visits of monks to Alexandria.⁵² The Pachomians supported Athanasius against Gregory; they were suspected of offering him a refuge during the third exile, and certainly did so during the fourth.⁵³ Thus supported by both hermits and coenobites, Athanasius encouraged the election of monks to the episcopate⁵⁴ and guided the movement by warning the monks both against heresy and against Manichaean excess in their ascetic principles.⁵⁵

It may be noted that, while Athanasius was himself Greek in language and culture, his personal contacts with Antony and Pachomius indicate a knowledge of Coptic. It was indeed no small achievement that he gained for the church the support of what was most vital in fourth-century Egypt—the long-suppressed Egyptian nation—without depriving it of the stores of Greek thought and culture which he himself so well represented. It was perhaps inevitable that as the vigor of intellectual life decayed the Egyptian church should a century later become merely Egyptian, and suffer from the decay which threatens any form of Christianity whose outlook is merely national. In the time of Athanasius this was still in the future. We can at least see by this sidelight on church history the part Athanasius plays in the history of Egypt, something which was not unrelated to his place in the history of the church. It was now possible for that which was proud to be Egyptian to be also proud to be Christian,⁵⁶ and for the future the bishop of Alexandria could count on the support of Egypt, as such.

⁵² *Vita Pachomii*, 20, 70, 73, 77, 92, 96.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 73, 88, 92; Letter of Ammon, 23.

⁵⁴ Cf. examples in *Epistle*, 49, to Dracontius.

⁵⁵ *Epistles*, 52-53 and 48.

⁵⁶ Note the national feeling expressed in *Histor. Arianorum*, 78—Egypt has been the most orthodox country.

THE ULTRAMONTANISM OF SAINT BONIFACE

JOHN SEVILLE HIGGINS

Chicago, Illinois

Professor Becker has said "The migrations of the Teutonic tribes and the expansion of the Saracens together form the basis of the history of the Middle Ages."¹ The Muslim conquests of Persia, Egypt, North Africa and Spain from 634 to 713 wiped out the ancient sees of Ephesus, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. Only Rome remained. The Saracens continued their advance over the Pyrenees and did not receive their first severe check until Charles Martel met and defeated them at Tours in 732. It was several more years however before Charles was able to regain Provence and secure Aquitaine against invasion.

The seventh century witnessed also the gradual breaking of the papacy from the control of the Eastern Emperor. By 691 Justinian II was unable to force Pope Sergius to assent to the decrees of the Quinisext Council, and the Monothelite Philippicus was helpless against the open defiance of his authority at a Roman synod held by Constantine. During the pontificate of Gregory II (715-731), relations with the East reached the breaking point by reason of the first Iconoclastic Decree issued by Leo the Isaurian in 726. This in addition to a special and heavy tax levied on Calabria and Sicily by the Emperor and the diversion of three and a half talents of gold from Rome to the imperial treasury, caused the cities of the Exarchate to revolt. Gregory III (731-741), who continued the policy of his predecessor, called a council at Rome in the year of his accession, which decreed that "If anyone henceforth should oppose the images of the saints, throw down, destroy or blaspheme them, let them be exiled from the body and blood of Christ, and indeed from the embrace and unity of the whole church."² Leo finally gave up the struggle and left to the pope's ecclesiastical jurisdiction the region of the Exarchate, but he transferred Sicily, Calabria, and Illyricum to the patriarch of Constantinople. The effect of this was "to bring the boundary between the ecclesiastical dominion of New Rome and Old Rome into coin-

¹ Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II, ch. IX.

² Jaffé, P., *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, No. 1721.

cidence with the boundary between the Greek and Latin nationalities."³ Zacharias, who succeeded Gregory III in 741, obtained several cities which had belonged previously to the Empire from the Lombard king Luitprand, so the principle that the territory of the Eastern Empire in North Italy now belonged justly to the popes was recognized by the Lombards.

The Lombards constituted a continual menace to the growth of papal power, and now that the separation from the East had been consummated, it was of the utmost importance that the Lombard king should be restrained from increasing his power in Italy. Rome needed a temporal protector, but that protector must not be too near Rome. Charles Martel was the logical person to ask for support, but he was on friendly terms with his brother-in-law, Luitprand. The whole matter called for most delicate handling. By 742, the Lombard king had the north and centre of Italy entirely under his control; only Charles could save the situation. Apparently Gregory III sent three letters to the Frankish mayor, asking his aid against the Lombards; the first one was written in August, 739, and the second in October of the same year. Although Charles sent the Pope no active assistance, it is probable that he brought some diplomatic pressure to bear on his brother-in-law, for the latter retired from central Italy shortly afterwards.

Pepin the Young had died on December 16, 714, and his successor, Charles Martel, was obliged to reconquer all that his predecessor had won. But by 719, Charles had become undisputed master over the king (Chilperich), and of the whole Frankish kingdom. It was of utmost moment that Charles be master of the Franks before the wave of Muslim conquest reached the Pyrenees. He died on October 21, 741, to be placed in Hell by Dante at a later date.

The life and labours of Boniface are projected against this background. The Muslim line of farthest advance had wiped out every apostolic see except Rome, thus leaving the latter city in a potentially strong position. The connection with the Eastern Empire was severed, and it was imperative that the papacy find a protector against the Lombards. Charles Martel was chosen for that dubious honour.

Winfred, or Boniface, as he was called later, was born at or near Crediton in Devonshire, England, between the years 675 and 680. He entered a monastery at Exeter when but seven years old, afterwards going to Nhutscelle, where he finally took charge

³ Bury, J. B., *History of the Later Roman Empire*, Vol. II, p. 446.

of the Abbey School. Ordained priest about 710, Boniface crossed to Frisia some six years later in an unsuccessful attempt to evangelize the warlike Frisians under Radbod. Returning to Nhutscelle, Boniface found that Abbott Aldhelm had died and the monks chose the young missionary as their new head. But he refused, and the year 718 saw him on the way to Rome to obtain papal sanction for his projected mission work in Germany; he carried credentials from his bishop, Daniel of Winchester, which proved so satisfactory to Gregory III that he commissioned Boniface to look over the field, "that he might consider whether the uncultivated fields of their hearts, if tilled by the Gospel ploughshare, would be disposed to receive the seed of preaching."⁴ Boniface moved north to Bavaria and Thuringia, countries which had been partly Christianized, and from thence to Francia. Hearing that Radbod had died, Boniface sailed down the Rhine to Frisia in 719, where he worked for three years with Willibrord. A summons to Rome and his consecration to the episcopate followed on November 30, 722. Under the protection of Charles Martel, Boniface again took up his labours in Hesse and Thuringia where in spite of many difficulties he gained many converts; Willibald records that "a prodigious multitude of the Hessians and the Thuringians received the sacraments of the faith and many thousand people were baptized."⁵ Gregory III sent Boniface the pallium in 732, which raised the apostle to archiepiscopal dignity and bound him irrevocably to the pope.

The work of reforming and reorganizing the churches in Bavaria continued until 738, when Boniface went again to Rome. His third and last departure from Rome took place in the spring of 739, when he set out, loaded with presents and commendatory letters to the nobles and peoples of Germany as well as to the bishops and other ecclesiastics. Stopping at Pavia on his way north to visit Luitprand, Boniface then made straight for Bavaria where he brought to a conclusion the work of reorganizing the church. He divided Bavaria into four dioceses, with a bishop at the head of each. Journeying to Thuringia, he set himself a similar task in that country.

At the suggestion of Boniface, Carloman called a national synod of the Austrasian Church on April 1, 742, for the purpose of restoring order in the church. The view of Mann and Kurth that Boniface attended the synod as legate of the pope is not supported by Hauck who maintains that Carloman called the synod

⁴ Willibald, *Vit. Bon.*, Lib. V.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Lib. VI.

in accordance with the political custom of the Franks and it had an advisory capacity only.⁶

The canons of the synod are their own commentary on the state of the Frankish Church; they show the desperate need for reform and centralization. Opposition to reform developed, headed by Gewilip of Mayence and Milo of Trier; it was at this juncture that Boniface learned how much he needed the aid of the temporal power. In 753 he appealed to Pepin to continue his support of the missionaries, which shows us that the prosecution of the work depended largely on subsidies supplied by the king. The invasions of the Saxons in 755 wrought havoc with the newly organized church; over thirty buildings were destroyed.

The heart of Boniface had been always in Frisia, however, and thither he went in 755 with fifty companions. Much constructive work was accomplished here before the Apostle and his friends found martyrdom at Dokkum, in Whitsuntide of the year 755.

Until the eighth century, the Frankish Church developed by itself; Rome was not responsible for the beginnings of the church there and the Franks conducted their own missionary work to the tribes on the west bank of the Rhine. But the expansion of the Frankish authority to southern Gaul in the sixth century led to a change, and from that time onwards an increasing connection with Rome may be observed. In general, the Frankish kings were interested in the spread of Christianity insofar as its establishment made for order in their dominions. There had been a papal vicar in the Frankish kingdom for many years, but no real authority went with the office; this may be seen from the fact that the metropolitan of Lyons presided over the Fifth Synod of Orleans in 549, instead of the papal vicar. Virgilius of Arles was the last Frankish bishop to be appointed vicar in the year 595, but the frequent gaps when there was no vicar show that the office was of little importance. As Hauck says, "The kingly power had appropriated all these rights, and the papal vicar could not exercise any of the rights upon which rested the papal claims."⁷ Rome was venerated and respected as the watchman and protector of the faith, but the decisions of the councils constituted the doctrinal norm. Even Gregory the

⁶ Hauck, A., *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Vol. I, p. 474. "Nicht er, sondern Karlmann, 'der Herzog und Fürst der Franken,' brief die Synode . . . Sie sollte den Majordomus nur berathen."

⁷ Hauck, A., *op. cit.*, I, p. 386.

Great was unsuccessful in establishing any hegemony over the Frankish Church for the purpose of reform.⁸

The coming of the Roman mission to England in 597, and the brilliant reorganization of the church there under Theodore of Canterbury, made itself felt immediately throughout that land. A party strongly attached to Rome grew up in England, and the missionaries of this party were those who in great part extended the Roman sway over the German peoples.

Wilfred of York had landed in Frisia in 678, and had spent the winter of that year with King Aldgild; he preached to and baptized many Frisians during his stay. Wilfred was followed by monks from the Irish cloisters who were not so well received by Aldgild's successor, Radbod, who feared the growing power of Pepin and saw a probable alliance between the missionaries and his enemy.

Willibrord stands out at this period as the great Apostle to Frisia. He had been educated by Wilfred of York at Ripon and he grew up to consider union with Rome as a necessary good for the church. Willibrord landed at the mouth of the Rhine in 690, but the Franks and the Frisians were at war, so he went to Pepin whose support he obtained. Journeying thence to Rome, Willibrord asked the Pope, Sergius I, for his blessing on the projected work, and recognized him as the leader of the church. It soon became evident, however, that churchly affairs in Frisia could prosper only with the help of the state power, and Pepin insisted on his right to choose bishops for the church in Frisia. Pepin created the latter country into a new province, with Willibrord as its archbishop, and he sent him to Rome for consecration in 695. The death of Pepin, on December 16, 714, and the terrific problems which faced Charles Martel upon his accession to power, brought ruinous consequences to the church in Frisia and it was not until after the death of Radbod in 719 that Charles was strong enough "to reduce the Frisians to their former state of subjection."⁹ It was in 718 that Boniface set out for Rome to gain the Pope's permission for his intended work among the tribes of Germany.

Boniface was born some eleven to sixteen years after the council of Whitby (664), where Roman organization and practice gained the victory over the Celtic ways and customs. The young monk was brought up under the influence of the new system at the monasteries of Adescancastra and Nhutscelle. His early and life-

⁸ Gregory was not able to prevent Turin from having a separate bishop.

⁹ *Ann. Mett.*, 719.

long friendship with Daniel of Winchester, and his early friendship with Abbot Aldhelm of Nhutscelle; the three years (719-722) spent in Frisia with Willibrord who had been trained and ordained by the ultramontanist Wilfred of York; all of these were strong factors which predisposed Boniface towards Rome. Frisia and the mission there under Willibrord and Boniface was a testing place for the papal theories developed by Gregory the Great.

Boniface made his first journey to Rome in 718, arriving there in the late fall of the same year. Gregory II (715-731) had ascended the papal throne when relations with the East were already strained, and already the eyes of the pope were turning westward. Gregory took kindly to Boniface, examined and approved his credentials, and after holding daily conferences with him,¹⁰ at length sent Boniface off to Germany with his blessing and a letter of authorization to preach there.¹¹ The letter approves heartily of Boniface's intention, "as well on account of his earnest zeal and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, as because he proceeded in the proper order, viz., as a member of a body, and had put himself in communication with the head. And so," continues the pope, "in the name of the undivided Trinity, and by the irrefragable authority of Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, whose place we hold, go forth and preach to the nations in the bonds of error the truths of both Testaments."¹²

"All the claims of Rome are to be found in these instructions; the pope is the supreme leader of the church, who as it were assigns workers to the church's territory."¹³ Gregory understood thoroughly the aims and policies of his great predecessor, and he was following those aims and policies to the utmost of his considerable ability. Boniface went north as an agent of the Holy See.

At the end of three years spent working with Willibrord in Frisia, when he was offered the episcopate by Willibrord, Boniface refused with these words: "I, an ambassador of the apostolic see to the western lands of the barbarians, have voluntarily attached myself to thy lordship and governance; and I did this from the choice

¹⁰ Willibald, *op. cit.*, Lib. V.

¹¹ *Monum. Germ. Hist.*, Ep. 12. Also Jaffé, P., *op. cit.*, No. 1654.

¹² *Ibid.*, "Ideo in nomine indivisibilis Trinitatis, per inconcussam auctoritatem B. Petri App. principis, cuius doctrinae magisterii dispensatione fungimur . . . praecipimus . . . ad gentes quascunque infidelitatis errore detentas . . . potueris . . . et per spiritum virtutis . . . praedicationem utriusque testamenti mentibus indoctis consona ratione transfundas."

¹³ Hauck, A., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 620. "Es liegt der ganze Anspruch Roms in dieser Urkunde; der Papst ist der oberste Leiter der Kirche, der gleichsam die Arbeiter auf dem Kirchlichen Gebiete vertheilt."

of my own free will, without the knowledge of my sublime masters, to whose service I am bound and subject by my vow even unto this day. Wherefore, without the decree of the apostolic see, and without its commission and authentic command, I dare not undertake a rank so distinguished and sublime."¹⁴

Boniface asked to be allowed to go to Rome, and Willibrord agreeing, the former set out, spending some time in Hessa and sending one Bynna to Rome telling the pope of what had been accomplished, and asking many questions relative to the work of organizing a bishopric in Hessa. Gregory's reply was to summon Boniface to Rome, where after the missionary had set forth his faith in writing—Gregory's Latin speech was not conspicuous for its purity—the Pope consecrated Boniface bishop on November 30, 722.¹⁵

The oath exacted at the time of consecration is most significant: "I, Boniface, bishop by the grace of God, promise thee, Saint Peter, prince of the Apostles, and thy vicar, blessed Pope Gregory, and his successors, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, Trinity inseparable, and by this thy most sacred body, to exhibit all faith and purity of the holy Catholic faith, and with God's aid to abide in the unity of the same faith, in which assuredly all the salvation of Christians is attested; in no wise at any one's persuasion to enter into agreement against the unity of the common and universal church; but, as I have said, to exhibit in all matters my faith and purity and union to thee and to the profit of thy church, to which the Lord God hath given power to bind and loose, and to thy vicar aforesaid and his successors; and also I promise that if I shall have knowledge of bishops living contrary to the ancient institutions of the holy fathers, I will have no communion or intercourse with them. Nay more, if I shall have power to forbid them, I will forbid; if not, I will straightway make faithful report to my apostolic lord. But if, as I pray may not be the case, I shall attempt in any wise or spirit or on any occasion to do anything contrary to the tenor of this my promise, may I be condemned at the eternal judgment, etc."¹⁶

This oath is in substance the oath taken by the Italian bishops of that period, who were subject immediately to the see of Rome. But in the oath of Boniface, the oath of allegiance to the Eastern Emperor is omitted; it is made to the pope himself as successor of

¹⁴ Willibald, *op. cit.*, Lib. V.

¹⁵ Jaffé gives the date as 723.

¹⁶ M. G. H., Bon. Ep., 16.

Saint Peter and Head of the Universal Church. The oath used for bishops of Italy is now used for all other bishops consecrated by the pope, and Germany proved to be the papal mission field where the theories of Gregory the Great were translated into practice by his two able namesakes and successors.

Gregory II died in 731, to be succeeded by Gregory III. To the latter, Boniface wrote in 732 professing his humble subjection to the Holy See and praying that "henceforth he might in devout submission share in the brotherhood and communion of the sacred bishop and of the whole Apostolic See."¹⁷ Gregory wrote a congratulatory letter in reply, and sent Boniface the pallium. This latter gift conferred on Boniface archiepiscopal dignity, and pointed to another advance in the papal organization of the German church. From the first the object of bestowing the pallium was to bring the archdioceses into closer contact with, and under the complete authority of, the Roman See. The oath of allegiance which went with the pallium tended to keep metropolitans faithful to Rome, and restrained any tendencies towards autonomy. The case of Hincmar of Rheims, however, is an example of the exception which proves the rule. Boniface was to consecrate other bishops according to his needs, so that what had been the diocese of Germany was now becoming an ecclesiastical province of Rome. The whole movement was a concentration of power and authority in the hands of Rome.

The third and last journey of Boniface to Rome took place in 737, when the archbishop felt the need for more instruction and advice. Gregory III received him very favourably, and Boniface stayed in Rome for almost a year; he left in the spring of 739, loaded with presents, relics, and commendatory letters.

As we have noted previously, Willibrord saw that the affairs of the church in Germany could prosper only with the help of the state, and we have seen that it was Pepin who chose Willibrord as archbishop and who sent him to Rome for consecration in 695. At Pepin's death in 714, the church was more disrupted than ever until Charles Martel was able to assert his power. Charles was interested in supporting Willibrord, and he did so to a certain extent; but he was averse to building up the church which would become too powerful. For that reason, after Willibrord's death, he allowed the bishopric of Utrecht to remain unfilled. But with the coming of Boniface to Rome in 718, Gregory II saw the possibility of a German provincial church brought into complete relationship with

¹⁷ Willibald, *op. cit.*, Lib. VI.

Rome. Boniface went to Bavaria, Thuringia, and Hessia to study the needs of those countries and to devise the best means how they might be brought into living relationship with Rome.

After the consecration of Boniface as bishop in 722, Gregory issued a bull to Hessia and Thuringia saying that he had made Boniface their bishop. This raised the direct point as to whether only the bishops appointed by the king could have authority in the Frankish State.¹⁸ Gregory wrote to Charles, not to ask for the latter's recognition of Boniface's episcopal dignity, but telling him of the commission which the new bishop had received from him to the tribes on the east of the Rhine. Hitherto Gregory had asked for the protection and support of Charles; now he assumed that he had the right to consecrate a bishop for part of the Frankish kingdom without the permission of the mayor. Boniface received the usual letter of a travelling bishop, which stated definitely that he was both to act as a missionary and also to work for the reform of the Frankish Church.¹⁹

In the spring of 723, Charles held his court at Valenciennes, where Boniface's episcopal dignity was recognized. But it is to be noted that in the letter of protection which Charles gave him, it was stated distinctly that Boniface was to watch over the interests of the state in Germany and to recognize the authority of the king (that is the mayor). This was a distinct hint that without Charles' consent, no undertaking was to be attempted. The letter contains no reference to the pope.²⁰

Gregory dealt with the inevitable difficulties in a statesman-like manner, for in 726 when a neighbouring bishop hindered Boniface in his work, Gregory wrote to Charles expressing the hope that he would not forget the valuable work which Boniface had done, and that he would decide in favor of the latter. This Charles did. By 733 there had developed a German provincial church which far excelled the Frankish church in religious and spiritual life.

An expedition into Bavaria showed Duke Hugbert to be very suspicious of Boniface, and although the stay there was not entirely fruitless, yet it showed that no reorganization of the Bavarian church could be accomplished without the aid of Charles.

Gregory III drew up a plan of reform for the Bavarian and Allemannian churches in 738, and Boniface left Rome for Bavaria in the spring of the same year. Charles had made one Odilo duke in

¹⁸ Hauck, A., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 428.

¹⁹ *M. G. H.*, Bon. Ep., 18.

²⁰ *M. G. H.*, Bon. Ep., 22.

the place of Hucbert, and Odilo fell in readily with the plans for reorganization. Accordingly, Bavaria was divided into four dioceses, new cloisters were established, and a synod of the Bavarian churches was held shortly afterwards.

It must be remembered that at this time Gregory had broken definitely with the East, and in the year 739 had asked for Charles' protection. That aid was refused, as we have seen, but the statesmanlike Gregory saw that he might be able to snatch victory from defeat; Charles might not be willing to take arms against Luitprand but he might consent to the much-to-be-desired reform synod for the Frankish church. But Charles and Gregory both died in the late fall of 741 (October 22 and November 29 respectively), before a synod could be arranged. One significant feature of the reign of Gregory II is that he created an enduring policy for the church with the Franks, and that he saw in Boniface the exact man to carry out his purposes. The Frankish connections were soon to be of the highest importance to the papacy.

At Charles' death, the kingdom was first divided between his two sons, Carloman and Pepin. Carloman on his own initiative caused Boniface to call a synod in the year 742. That such a gathering was sorely needed is well shown in the letter of Boniface to the new Pope Zacharias.²¹ Although Boniface says in the letter: "If I am to carry out the duke's wishes, I desire to have behind me the power of the Apostolic See,"²² Zacharias delayed his answer for some unknown reason,²³ and it was not received until a full year after the synod had been held; the letter gave consent to the synod.

The first thing to notice is that the synod was called and presumably was presided over by Carloman and not by Boniface. The preface to the proceedings reads: "We, Carloman, *dux et princeps Francorum*, have . . . on the advice of the servants of God assembled in a council, the bishop and priests of our Empire, etc."²⁴ The synod had an advisory capacity only, and Boniface, from Carloman's point of view, was not present as a papal legate, but as an archbishop of the Austrasian Church. It was the reputation of Boniface and the power of Carloman which gave this first German synod its authority, as Hauck has clearly pointed out.²⁵ However,

²¹ See especially *M. G. H.*, Bon. Ep., 50.

²² "Qua propter, si hoc Deo inspirante veraciter implere voluerit consilium et praeceptum vestrae auctoritatis id est apostolicae sedis, habere et sapere deboeo."

²³ Gundlach dates the pope's reply (No. 51) April 1, 743.

²⁴ Hefele, C. J., *Histoire des Conciles*, t. III, pt. 2, p. 819.

²⁵ Hauck, A., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 485.

we cannot agree with Hauck that Carloman deliberately ignored Boniface's papal consecration as archbishop, and that he created Boniface archbishop at this synod.²⁶

There is no time to discuss the canons of the synod in detail; it must be sufficient to state that they are their own commentary on the state of the Frankish church and the rigorous punishments prescribed for offenders show how needful was the reform. The acceptance of the Latin canons and discipline proved to be the salvation of the Frankish church. The reforms, too, are more in the nature of a concentration of power in the hands of Rome, rather than a general reformation. Nor could the canons be made effective without the support of the temporal power; this is well shown in a letter of Boniface to Daniel of Winchester, which reads in part that without the protection of the Frankish prince, it is neither possible to govern the ecclesiastics or clerks, nor to defend the monks and nuns of God.²⁷ Apparently, Boniface accepted Carloman's presidency of the synod and the orders of the mayor which issued therefrom.

Meanwhile, Zacharias had made an alliance with Odilo, the duke of Bavaria, and had consecrated a bishop for that country to take the place of Boniface. Odilo had shown himself a dangerous rival to Carloman and Pepin, and war soon broke out between them; the Franks were victorious, and Zacharias denied everything that he had done in Bavaria and instructed Boniface to consider his position in the Bavarian church as unchanged by the recent events.²⁸ Zacharias found the unwisdom of trying to support Odilo in raising up an independent state, and from then on the Bavarian church was a part of the German church.

In the western part of the Frankish kingdom, Pepin took all of the initiative, and gave the papal legate no office in the Neustrian church. Pepin chose three new archbishops of Rheims, Sens, and Rouen and wrote to Zacharias asking that the pallium be sent to them. Zacharias complied, interpreting the request for the pallium as a papal ratification of the selected archbishops. But Pepin changed his mind and wrote another letter, asking that the pallium be sent only to Grimo of Rouen; no reason was given for this request, which makes it clear that from Pepin's point of view he was

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

²⁷ *M. G. H.*, Bon. Ep., 63. "Sine patrocinio principis Francorum nec populam aecclesiae regere nec presbiteros vel clericos, monachos vel ancillas Dei defendere possum."

²⁸ *M. G. H.*, Bon. Ep., 49.

the master of the church in Neustria. The matter was not settled even by the year 751.

Pepin himself called a synod which met on March 2, 744, at Soissons; its model was the synod held in 742 in Austrasia, but Boniface was not present. Similar reform measures were enacted. Thus Carloman and Pepin, in a few short years, were able to get the church reform movement well under way.

It was soon after those events that an archiepiscopal residence was established for Boniface at Cologne. Both Pepin and the archbishop wished to make the office enduring, for it had been of inestimable value in the work of reforming the church. But for some unknown reason, the idea of a permanent residence for Boniface did not reach its fulfillment; the archbishop went to Mayence to take the place of the deposed Gewilip, and so he remained simply archbishop and papal vicar. Probably the idea aroused tremendous opposition.

Appeals to Rome were almost unheard of in the Frankish church before the time of Boniface, but when Gewilip of Mayence was deposed, he appealed to the pope as a last resort. But the appeal had a permanent significance; it meant that a member of the Frankish episcopate belonging to the opposition party had recognized the right of the pope to give final judgment in a Frankish ecclesiastical dispute. The other side of the picture may be seen in the cases of Adelbert and Clemens, two wandering bishops, who were condemned by a Roman synod in 745; Adelbert was deposed and Clemens put under the ban, but the point to be noticed is that the princes in Germany did not feel bound to execute the sentence upon either man, and Zacharias was obliged to lay the matter before a German synod.²⁹

A synod, held in 747, in which thirteen bishops of both Austrasia and Neustria took part, decided that the various portions of the Catholic Church were united with Rome in the unity of one faith, and therefore that they should be subordinate to Saint Peter, his representatives and successors.³⁰ This synodal decision was the beginning of an enduring bond between the Roman and Frankish churches, but as yet it had no force without the royal ratification. Also at this synod the exact relationship of archbishops to their bishops was decided; the former were to have disciplinary power over the latter and act as intermediaries between their "provinces" and Rome. They all wished to receive the pallium from Rome as

²⁹ *M. G. H.*, Bon. Ep., 53.

³⁰ *M. G. H.*, Bon. Ep., 70.

a regular thing upon their election as archbishops. The organization of the Frankish church as a province of Rome was now complete in theory; in practice though, Pepin was still regarded and spoken of by the pope as the head of the Frankish church.³¹

The abdication of Carloman in 747 and the dethronement of Childerich III, the last of the Mervings in 751, brought unity again to the Frankish kingdom. Probably Boniface had nothing to do directly with the dethronement, since he seems to have been little interested in political activity.³² The dealings between Pepin and the pope concerning the dethronement were carried out by Fulrad of St. Denis and Burchard of Wurzburg. But it was the steady and consistent ultramontanism of Boniface which made this deposition possible. Zacharias authorized the deposition in 752,³³ and Pepin was elected king of the Franks at Soissons in November, 752, at which place he was anointed by Boniface and other assistant bishops.³⁴ He was anointed by Pope Stephen two years later.³⁵

Evidently, Boniface was present at the ceremony at Soissons as papal legate,³⁶ at least from his own and from the papal viewpoint; certainly the attitude adopted by the papacy from that time onwards was that the Frankish kings must be anointed by the pope or the papal legate before the church could acknowledge the election.

With regard to the many monasteries and nunneries founded at this period, a passing word must suffice. They were predominantly outposts of Rome. Especially was this true of Fulda, which was placed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff; no priest might even say mass there without the consent of the abbot, who was the appointee of the pope and was responsible to Rome alone. It created a dangerous precedent, but Pepin ratified the agreement.

The significance of Boniface's life and work cannot be over-

³¹ *Cod. Car.*, 3 s., 18 h.

³² But cf. *M. G. H.*, Bon. Ep., 161: "Habet (Lul) secreta quaedam mea, quae soli pietati vestrae profiteri debet."

³³ *Ann. Lauris.*, "Zacharias . . . per auctoritatem Apostolicam jussit Pepinum regem fieri."

³⁴ *Ann. Lauris.*, ad an. 752; *Ap. Bartolini*, p. 507. Also *Annales Regni Francorum* (Hannoverae 1895: in *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*), pp. 8, 10: "Pepin was chosen king according to the custom of the Franks, and anointed by the hand of Boniface . . ." Rettberg rejects this. Cf. *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Vol. I, pp. 383-391.

³⁵ Einhard, *Ann.*, ad an 754: "Steph. P. postquam a Rege Pippino ecclesiae Romanae defensionis firmitatem accepit, ipsum sacra unctione ad regiae dignitates honorem consecravit," etc.

³⁶ *Annal. Lauris.*, ad. an. 752: "A Sancto Bonifacio Archiepiscopo Moguntino jussu praefati Papae in Regem inungitur."

estimated. If the four great events of the eighth century were the Muslim conquest of Spain; the election of Pepin; the Iconoclasite controversy; and the conversion of the Germans beyond the Rhine,³⁷ then Boniface was responsible in great measure for the last mentioned major event of the eighth century. By the year of his death, not only had an inroad been made on the tribes east of the Rhine, but the Frankish church had become a province of Rome, with Roman organization and discipline. The popes had made a number of important decisions in disputed cases, and they now had numerous precedents to cite in case their authority might be questioned.

The popes, and especially the two Gregorys, showed the greatest wisdom in dealing with Boniface; they did not hamper his movements, but let him journey up and down the country as he saw fit. The oath of allegiance which carried with it implicit obedience to the Roman See was a sufficient guarantee that Boniface would be faithful.

Due to the absence of any restraining hand, the papacy by 755 had gained a degree of independence hitherto unknown. The break with the Empire was complete in fact, if not in theory, the troublesome Lombards were declining in power, the Muslims held every apostolic see of any importance except Rome; and the Frankish church had acknowledged its allegiance to the successor of the Blessed Peter. The powerful suzerainty which the papacy assumed over the Frankish church by the year 750, is due in greatest measure to Saint Boniface with his consistent ultramontane policy.

³⁷ Hodgkin, T., *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vol. VI, p. 418.

FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN BIBLICAL STUDY

DONALD WAYNE RIDDLER

The University of Chicago

The impression which is likely to be derived from the reading of a history of biblical interpretation¹ is that modern criticism is a goal which has been attained by an evolution in which the curve of progress is fairly steady and constant. There seems to be a tacit assumption that such adjectives as "modern," "critical," and "scientific" as applied to biblical studies are synonymous and equally deserved. The occasional appearance of a critical judgment in the work of ancient worthies is regarded as an "anticipation" of modern views. In most histories of interpretation the beginnings of modern criticism are found in the Renaissance and the Reformation, so that Luther and Calvin are regarded as biblical scholars; the importance of New Testament studies in the work of Erasmus is exaggerated, and processes of scientific criticism are pictured as in effect before the impact of discovery brought a new world-view into being.

Only a little reflection, however, should be necessary to suggest that since the interpretation of Scripture has been an aspect of Christianity's adaptation to its environment, such idealistically progressive development did not occur. From the earliest period, when proof-texts were first used for their apologetic value, from the time when the Christian movement attracted to its leadership men with intellectual capabilities, it was natural that in different ages and in different geographical areas local and current processes should be used in interpretation. Thus the use of allegory by Clement of Alexandria and Origen was nothing more than Philo had done for Judaism in the same environment; a part of the work of Tertullian and Cyprian was the winning of such intellectual status as was possible in the culture of Carthage, and the men of the "School of Antioch" effected an adaptation according to standards current in the north Mediterranean area. In no such case did

¹ Extant histories of biblical interpretation are inadequate in a number of respects. In view of the necessity of a restudy of the entire field, a Research Project in the History of New Testament Interpretation has been organized by the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature of the University of Chicago.

biblical interpretation go beyond the patterns characteristic of the place and time.

It is not apparent that interpretation in subsequent periods should be differently viewed. It is, of course, a patent fact that this aspect of the promotion of Christianity was practically stagnant in the West during the so-called dark ages. It is also obvious that the use of the Bible differed in the Eastern and the Western churches. However, the differences should be recognized as characteristic, and due to fundamental differences in the types of the religious life in different cultures. It is unfortunate that Western incompatibility with Eastern Christianity has led to a low evaluation of Orthodoxy. Nor is it to the credit of western scholarship that subjective judgments have led to similar evaluations of Western Christianity during the Middle Ages. Differences in types of Christianity are examples of the shift of cultures, a phenomenon which needs to be taken into account in many aspects of the study of the history of interpretation.

Nor are these the only question-begging judgments which are to be found in handbooks of the history of biblical interpretation. New critical views are usually hailed as new steps in advance, without the observation that they were individual expressions not necessarily followed by general acceptance. Indeed, the resistance to new views in theology and science alike is a phenomenon for which explanation must be given if the history of interpretation is to be understood. Again, critical views are commonly regarded as identical with results obtained by scientific methods. It is this fallacy, of course, which has led to the treatment of the views of earlier leaders as anticipations of modern judgments.

It is such reasoning as this which continues the impression that, apart from such anticipations, modern biblical study had its beginning in the Renaissance, its first great impetus in the humanist movement, and its first important expression in the Reformation. But such a view completely overlooks the fact that no biblical scholar of these periods, however able or accomplished, possessed anything but the ancient world-view. Such a view fails to perceive that the most radical opinions in the biblical studies of these periods were basically conditioned by dogmatic interests. Furthermore, it is easy to overestimate the quality of the critical work of these times. To be sure, no one should underrate the acumen of such a scholar as Valla,² nor should one discount the sig-

² *The Cambridge Medieval History*, VIII : 768f.

nificance of a number of his applications of humanistic processes, e. g., his demonstration of the true character of the alleged Donation of Constantine and of the "Letter of Christ to Abgarus." The frequent error in histories of criticism is in depicting the Renaissance so romantically that the relative positions of critical study and criticisms of dogmatic orthodoxy are obscured.

What, for example, was the place of biblical study in the work of Erasmus? He is famed as the editor of the first printed Greek New Testament, and noted for questioning the authenticity of such New Testament sources as Hebrews, Revelation, James, II and III John, and II Petér. The isolation of these facts in histories of criticism suggests that this side of his work was outstanding. But of his New Testament a number of things may be said. First, it was a publishing venture in which a major motive was to anticipate the publication of the Complutensian Polyglot, so as to win the distinction of being the first to apply the new craft of printing to the Greek New Testament. Second, his haste and his disregard of critical methods led him to produce an inferior text; it is well known that instead of preparing a composite text by comparing his manuscript resources, he sent a manuscript (incidentally, not the best known to him) to the compositor and interpolated such variant readings as he introduced into the proof. It is a curiosity of his first edition that he had no manuscript authority whatever for certain verses in Revelation, at which point his text represents merely his own Greek translation from the Vulgate. If more evidence of inferior workmanship is needed, his admission of the "Three Witnesses" verse in I John to his third edition would be sufficient. It is perfectly clear that aside from its novelty Erasmus' Greek New Testament does not entitle its editor to distinction. No; Erasmus' deserved standing was won as a Latin stylist; as an author his place was secured by the works which he himself held in highest esteem: *In Praise of Folly* and the rapidly growing anthology of apophthegms.³

Such observations as these should prepare the student for the fact that critical judgments by biblical scholars in the Renaissance and the Reformation are hardly more than fortuitous "sports," the occurrence of which may usually be accounted for by some factor in the situation in which the given religious leader was functioning. It could hardly have been otherwise when doctrinal considerations were of paramount importance. For example, Luther's crit-

³ This is the estimate of Preserved Smith, in his *Erasmus: A Study of His Life, Ideals and Place in History* (New York, 1923).

ical opinions about the four New Testament books which he deemed of secondary value were logical implications of his dogmatic position; a fairer measure of his critical acumen is to be seen in his fondness for Genesis on the ground that he found so much of Christ in the book. Doubtless the superiority of Calvin's commentaries is to be attributed to his humanistic training;⁴ it was not for nothing that his first scholarly publication was the edition of a classical text. But to find the true character of his biblical work one needs to look no farther than his statement of the purpose of the *Institutes*: "to show the student what he ought principally to look for in the Scriptures." Nor is the case different in the work of leaders of lesser fame and milder theology, such as the Sozzini and Armipius, for with these also the dogmatic viewpoint was primary and their use of Scripture was with reference to their dogmatic purpose.

After the initial stages of the Reformation, the subjection of critical opinion to dogmatic fixity is still more obvious. Just as the Catholic dogma was fixed by the Council of Trent, the Protestant confessions developed a dogmatic articulation of biblicism which amounted to as thoroughgoing a scholasticism as obtained in the Catholic church in the thirteenth century.⁵

To be sure, the emergence of linguistic and textual work served to develop a phase of biblical study which, although it cannot be characterized as scientific, was scholarly and critical. While the first suggestions of this interest go back as far as Nicolas of Lyra, and while Wella's achievements were of considerable significance, there can be no doubt that Reuchlin, with a competence in both Hebrew and Greek, was the first to make distinctive use of linguistic tools in biblical study; other humanists, such as LeFèvre (the first scholar to translate the Bible into French) and Colet may be mentioned. But it is what lay back of these achievements that is of greater interest: the dissemination of a sufficient knowledge of the languages, the development of a scientific organization of grammar, the compilation of lexicons, etc. In these matters the work of Jewish scholars was of importance, not merely in the teaching of Hebrew, but still more in grammatical studies.⁶ The

⁴ Cf. Q. Breen, *John Calvin: A Study in French Humanism* (Grand Rapids, 1931).

⁵ McGiffert, *Protestant Thought Before Kant* (New York, 1911); cf. the article "Confessions" in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

⁶ The reference is to the grammatical work of Ibn Ezra and Kimchi; the estimate of their influence in Newmann, *Jewish Influence Upon Christian Reform Movements* (New York, 1925) is, however, too sweeping.

availability of Greek is one of the interesting stories of the Renaissance. It is doubtful that such knowledge as was current in Calabria would have satisfied the needs of the Renaissance; it was the work of Greeks who emigrated to Western Europe which made possible first hand work on the Greek New Testament.⁷ Several of these, e. g., John Chrysoloras and Theodorus Gaza, wrote grammars; Pasor in 1619 was the first to publish a Greek-Latin lexicon.⁸ Naturally it was the conquest, largely effected by the beginning of the sixteenth century, of the universities by humanism which won the field for linguistic scholarship.⁹

Undoubtedly it was the ability to apply linguistic technique to biblical interpretation which made for what excellence may be seen in the work of the scholars of the early and middle critical periods (roughly, from 1650-1850).¹⁰ The distinction is that lexical and especially textual methods contrast sharply with merely subjective doctrinal positions. John Lightfoot furnishes an excellent illustration. It would be possible to point out many "anticipations" of "modern" interests in his work: he culled rabbinical literature for illustrations and parallels of New Testament texts, he studied biblical topography and geography, he worked out information of Jewish institutions and practices. There can be no question of his scholarship, and as long as his work primarily involved linguistic applications, his findings were of value. Yet it was he who added the further specificity to biblical chronology of stating that the creation of man occurred on October 23, B. C. 4004 at 9 A. M.! It is a sobering thought that an able biblical critic could be objective in his use of linguistic equipment and yet be thus uncritical in other aspects of his work. It is still more sobering to recall that this phenomenon might be abundantly illustrated in the work of Lightfoot's contemporaries.

The discipline of textual criticism exhibits the same contrast. This interest in biblical studies had its rise long before the applica-

⁷ *The Cambridge Medieval History*, VIII: 759f.

⁸ Reuchlin also wrote a Latin Grammar; even earlier Valla had produced his classic *Elegantiæ latinae linguae* in 1479 which had 59 editions by 1536.

⁹ Cf. the article "Universities" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

¹⁰ One may go farther, and remark that competence in linguistics enabled what permanent value obtained in the biblical scholarship of the reformers. While it is clear that the distinction in Luther's Bible lies in the genius for effective vernacular which it exhibits, it is also plain that the superiority of Calvin's commentaries inheres in their author's ability to handle the sources as a linguist. Such a scholar as Tyndale may be compared to Luther; it was Tyndale's genius for language which made his work of such enduring influence upon subsequent English versions.

tion of properly so-called scientific method. Does this fact constitute an exception to the generalization which is being suggested? It is true that so early a scholar as Wella observed the phenomena of variant readings and pointed out discrepancies between the readings of the Vulgate and the Greek MSS. known to him. Reuchlin went farther, and corrected the Vulgate where it differed from what he conceived to be the true text. Naturally the printing of the Greek New Testament, initiated by Erasmus and Cardinal Ximenes and becoming an exceedingly popular enterprise, stimulated this activity as a branch of humanistic study. The result was that from the editions of Froben, Stephens, Aldus, Beza, and Elzevir to the work of Fell, Mill, Bengel, Wettstein, and Griesbach very creditable achievements were made; manuscripts were studied, a system of identifying and indicating them was adopted, techniques in reporting variant readings were developed, readings and manuscripts were studied with reference to their relationships, and a beginning was made in classifying readings and manuscripts according to the character of their texts.¹¹ Textual criticism of the Old Testament was practiced by Cappellus, who made observations as early as 1650.

But again, not all work in textual criticism was of equal or even of high value; undoubtedly of the earlier textual critics Griesbach was the ablest.¹² Differing abilities should be expected. On the other hand, it is a less often appreciated fact that the relatively excellent work done in this specialized and technical field was done by scholars who in other fields of biblical study were uncritical and reactionary: Wettstein's troubles with the theologians of Amsterdam, Bengel's millenarian vagaries in his comments on the Apocalypse, and Griesbach's traditionalism in interpreting the gospels are examples.

The utmost that can be said of the work of biblicalists in the days preceding the rise of scientific method is that in admitting the play of influence from philosophical, literary, and historical disciplines, the crust of theological orthodoxy was occasionally cracked. Thus Astruc made a statement about the sources of the Pentateuch which forced a more general recognition than earlier approximations of the same ideas, Simon drew attention to important facts

¹¹ Kenyon, *Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (London, 1912), 274-286.

¹² Compare Hort's judgment: ". . . a name which we venerate above that of every other textual critic of the New Testament," in Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (London, 1882), ii:185.

about the growth of the canon, Ernesti proposed to treat biblical literature as any literature would be treated by the scholar, Michaelis introduced the discussion of the data of biblical Introduction, Herder made the first attempt at the comparative study of Christianity by treating the New Testament in the light of the newly discovered Zend-Avesta, Eichhorn restated critical views of the sources of the Pentateuch in a more thorough study, and the analytical studies of the gospels which resulted in the articulation of the Synoptic problem were made. A number of philosophers included biblical criticism in their observations, among them Reimarus, Hume, Kant, Lessing, and Herder, and the implications of the thought of Hegel were felt. Rationalism led to restatement of orthodox explanations of the biblical miracles and the Enlightenment brought out a numerously represented literature which was professedly liberal in tone. Some of the critical work was radical in content as well as in tone: Strauss, F. C. Baur, and Bruno Bauer are the chief names in this connection. In England the liberal literati were interested in biblical criticism; many penetrating judgments appear in Coleridge's *Table Talk*, for example, and in the exceptional case of Evanson, England had a critic of the keenest acumen. It hardly needs to be said that orthodoxy's voice was never silent; in addition less advanced critics developed a mediating school. Certainly no one should regard the advanced views of the liberal or radical critics as representative.

It must be recognized that not until scientific discoveries were made, not, indeed, until their impact upon scholarly thought and in practical application to common life was accomplished are the fundamental elements of scientific method to be observed in biblical scholarship. It requires but the briefest recital of epoch-making discoveries to make it clear why properly so-called modern biblical studies were thus late in development.

Doubtless the most basic element in the new world-view came from the work in physical science which had its first statement by Copernicus and was furthered by Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton. But not yet was there general acceptance of the new conceptions even among scholars. It still required the work of Kant and Laplace to establish the viewpoint, and (especially in the case of Laplace) to give it a statement which was capable of popularization. This, one may remark, was done in the nineteenth century.

The history of basic observations in biological science illustrates the same point. For example, the status of the study of anatomy as late as the middle of the sixteenth century was deplor-

able. The revolution which was begun by the work of Vesalius and given expression in 1543—the same year as that in which Copernicus' great work was published—is comparable in its effect to the discoveries in physical science. The authority of Galen was overthrown, and principles of experimental observation were substituted for it. In 1628 William Harvey announced his discovery that there is a circulation of the blood from the heart in the arteries and back through the veins. Discoveries in microscopy followed, enabling research in minute anatomy. Among these the work of Malpighi and that of Leeuwenhoeck may be mentioned, since they supplemented Harvey's discovery.

The beginnings of the scientific classification of plants, together with systems of nomenclature which were adopted in common use, were made by the Swedish scholar Linnaeus, beginning in 1735. Comparative anatomy, without which modern biology would be impossible, had its earliest exponent in the French savant, Cuvier (1769-1832); fundamental observations on the structure of animal tissue were made by Bichat (1771-1801), and with the work of Albrecht Haller physiology began its modern trends (1708-1777).

In the earth sciences, the earliest to reach expression was the science of fossil remains. The basis in general geology was not available until Lyell published *Principles of Geology* in 1830. It was William Smith who observed that the position of fossils in strata is always the same, so that the relative age of rocks may be determined from the fossils which they hold. Lamarck, more famous as the originator of a theory of evolution, is the more deserving of recognition as the founder of the study of invertebrate palæontology. Cuvier shortly before had made the basic observations in the vertebrate field.

In chemistry the standards of exact science awaited the experiments of Lavoissier, toward the end of the eighteenth century, and the contributions of this essential science to the modern worldview were impossible until John Dalton's formulation of the atomic theory was made (1803-08).

When these facts are used as a perspective, the student is compelled to correct the erroneous impression that scientific biblical scholarship was achieved by the reformers or their immediate successors. Two factors are thus brought to consideration. One is the time-lag between the promulgation of a scientific discovery and its acceptance, first by scholars, then in more general currency.

The other is the domination of authority as a fundamental element in the resistance to scientific discovery.

Simple explanations are given for both these factors. "The Conflict between Science and Theology" is a familiar theme, and the points urged by it are generally accepted. Only a little reflection, however, shows that as an explanation it is inadequate. To be sure, there can be no doubt that religious authorities, Catholic and Protestant, were unhospitable to the historic scientific discoveries. On the other hand, what is almost always overlooked is that educational and professional leaders were also resistant. The experience of Vesalius furnishes an instructive example of this. The teachings of his *De humani corporis fabricia* were as much opposed by physicians and anatomists as the views of Galileo were opposed by churchmen. This was because, following experimental research based upon dissection, he presented findings which controverted some of the assertions derived from Galen. For example, according to the analogy of the structure of the bodies of animals, the accepted view had it that the human thighbone was curved and that the human lower jawbone was divided. Vesalius' observations negated these teachings. His assertions were denied until a dissection proved them. Even then "explanations" were offered which rank with ecclesiastical dogma in absurdity. For example, Sylvius, an anatomist of the highest standing, a teacher of Vesalius, put forth the theory that the human thighbone was indeed curved when Galen had affirmed it to be so, but that the recently introduced custom of wearing tight trousers had had the effect of straightening the curvature!¹³

Such facts as these require the formulation of the question in a broader form. Why was experimental science, commonly practiced during the Hellenistic age, not characteristic during the Middle Ages? Why did dependence upon authority supplant experiment in all branches of thought? Alexandria, with its university in which applied science was taught with such aspects as the practice of dissection and vivisection, and its library in which systematic cataloging was developed and lexicographical studies prosecuted, was in some sense a symbol of the Hellenistic period. Mathematics had classical formulation by Euclid and practical application by Archimedes. Geography was greatly advanced by Eratosthenes. Perhaps the most brilliant intellectual achievement of the age was

¹³ Locy, *Biology and Its Makers* (New York, 1915), p. 35.

his calculation of the diameter and the circumference of the earth; assuming, as many thinkers did, the sphericity of the earth he utilized the principles of solid geometry to determine the earth's size with a surprisingly small degree of error. Why was this age so different from that which followed? For the present purpose it is sufficient to use the question to emphasize the basic fact that theological opposition was not the sole factor in the time-lag between scientific discovery and applications of scientific findings. Applications of scientific discovery and method could not be made in biblical criticism until the relatively late period when the new world-view became a working concept.

To be sure, the greater currency of and the more obvious fondness for philosophical speculation encouraged the development of critical views among biblical scholars. It hardly needs to be pointed out that Rationalism and the Enlightenment account for much of the advanced opinion expressed by biblical scholars from Reimarus to Schleiermacher; the influence of metaphysics, as has been mentioned, occasioned the restatement of the problem of miracle and brought about a realignment of theological explanation in this regard. It is also well known that the work of the most thoroughgoing radicals had for its basis philosophical rather than scientific methods, e. g., Strauss' work on the life of Jesus, F. C. Baur's work on Paul and the history of early Christianity and the more speculative views of Bruno Bauer. The dominance of Hegel came to be a primary factor, as all the handbooks point out. Even after the influences of the scientific methods and the new world-view came to be definitely felt and were accorded wide reception, it was a theological system which dominated biblical scholarship: the highly influential Ritschlianism of the latter half of the nineteenth century. But critical views which are based upon a philosophical system are not necessarily scientific.

The student will then be aware that since the general acceptance and the practical applications of scientific discoveries were phenomena of the nineteenth century, the rise of a properly so-called modern method of biblical interpretation, based upon and using implications of scientific methods, was correspondingly delayed. It has perhaps been noted that as yet nothing has been said about the developments which occurred around the decisive date, 1859, when Darwin published *The Origin of Species*. While these matters were highly important, of still greater importance were the factors which led to the transition from theoretical to applied science in the nineteenth century. For these had tremendous influ-

ence upon human life; the industrial revolution was only one such result. What is of direct bearing upon the present theme is that out of the impingement of science upon life the social sciences were developed; these were the days of Mill, Spencer, and Comte as well as the days of Darwin and Huxley—or, it may be added, of Bishop Wilberforce.

Inevitably biblical criticism was affected. Perhaps the first sign of this was the impact of the study of history. It resulted quickly that spheres of interest shifted so that biblical study became primarily an aspect, not of dogmatic theology, but of literary and historical research. The elementary efforts in the comparative study of religion, of which the first fruit was borne in the Old Testament field, became inclusive of studies of the whole environment of the Near East and of the Mediterranean world; studies of the religions of the Graeco-Roman *milieux* made their contributions, and the very influential *religionsgeschichtliche* method was developed, first in the Old Testament, then in the early Christian field. A new and genuinely scientific knowledge of the character of the biblical languages was articulated. Textual criticism rose to new heights of achievement. The influence of scientific method could be seen in the spirit of detachment and objectivity with which certain distinguished scholars carried on their work. The shift from dogmatic to literary and historical interests presently reached the point where attention was paid to the religious life which is portrayed in the biblical sources; it was seen that it was the religious life which had produced the Bible, not the Bible which had produced the religious life. In the study of Christianity a fruitful field was found in work upon the extra-canonical Christian writings, which were shown to be products of the same causal factors which occasioned the writing of the New Testament books. Similarly the Jewish apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, and rabbinical writings were studied. In the early Christian field the lines between biblical studies and church history became less sharply drawn, and in the work of some scholars practically obliterated.

Modern achievements in biblical study obtained their characteristics in this period. It is interesting that for the most part the vanguard was maintained by Old Testament scholars; Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Robertson Smith made major contributions. The difference in character between their work and that of Astruc and Eichhorn is not only apparent, but illustrative of the shift from speculatively based analysis to scientific literary and historical criticism. Likewise the work of Gunkel, first applied in the Old Testa-

ment field, was fundamental for subsequent and broader generalizations.

Among the New Testament scholars of the early modern period H. J. Holtzmann doubtless deserves first mention, not so much for his thoroughgoing maintenance of a strict critical viewpoint as for his rigid application of controllable (and thus scientific) methods. Johannes Weiss, of equal ability, occupies a place in New Testament criticism somewhat analogous to that of Wellhausen in the Old Testament field; his ability to generalize from critical findings so as to produce a unified view of historical developments in the growth of Christianity was remarkable.¹⁴ Although largely controlled by the Ritschlian theological viewpoint, and not free from bias, the monumental work of Harnack, particularly in the field of the history of early Christian literature, was of the highest value. Without citing more examples it is sufficient to point out that it is in the work of these scholars and that of certain of their contemporaries that the modern achievement in biblical criticism is to be observed. Of course the factors in modern research could be even more plainly seen in the work of scholars who are producing today, but this article limits itself to pointing out formative steps in the processes by which modern criticism developed.

Lest it should be misunderstood, it may be pointed out that the standpoint of the present study renders no veneration to "science" or to "scientific method." It is believed that without inconsistency the position has been maintained that biblical criticism is an aspect of adjustment to environment; scientific processes are of dominant importance in the current intellectual environment of religion in the Western world, so that adjustment at present is in that direction. Nor is it assumed that there is anything final in modern biblical criticism. While normative considerations are inevitable, and in certain respects justified, it may be well to note that only in the degree to which criticism is emancipated from dogmatic restrictions, in the degree to which objectivity dominates, and in the degree to which religion is studied as other historical phenomena are studied is the modern achievement "better" than results attained earlier.

A survey of the contemporary situation may be of some value. Primary interests in German work in the New Testament field are lexicographical and literary-historical. The modern work on the

¹⁴ Cf. Weiss' posthumously published work (edited by R. Knopf), *Das Urchristentum* (Göttingen, 1917).

Greek of the New Testament period falls within the lifetime of its earliest exponent who is still living; it is inclusive, however, of many important contributions of a number of scholars.¹⁵ The study of the gospels has entered a new phase in which the units of their contents are viewed as basic materials and the processes of their evolution are studied in the light of social developments.¹⁶ While problems of the canon and the history of extra-canonical writings have reached typical statements, studies of the environment of Christianity continue to be produced; if the greater significance appears to obtain in findings concerning the Jewish background this is because equally valuable work on the Graeco-Roman religions was done earlier. The study of the life of Jesus, which has had a long and interesting history, has passed into special phases. It is interesting that a general distrust of the use of psychology characterizes German scholarship.

In England it is the scholarship of the established church which dominates. On the whole it is consciously conservative, and in many cases reactionary. Yet certain scholars maintain independent and advanced views; of these Canon Streeter deserves the first and the most honorable mention. It was he who broke the solid wall of the acceptance of the classic "two source hypothesis" in explaining the Synoptic problem. However, British work on the gospels is slow to exhibit adaptation to current research; in particular, British biblical scholarship is nationalistic, consciously resisting the influence of German work.¹⁷ Critical findings of an advanced nature are, it is true, expressed by certain scholars of the Church of England who still are entirely acceptable to their church. This seems to be because the advanced views, some of which are obtained by thoroughly scientific methods, are developed in aspects of scholarship which are theologically innocuous, e. g., in textual criticism, or in studies of Oriental Christianity.¹⁸ Of great interest

¹⁵ E. g., the important work of Preisigke, Wilcken, W. Bauer—and, indeed, several others. It will be remembered that important contributions in papyrology were made by other than German scholars, e. g., the British scholars Moulton, Milligan, Grenfell, and Hunt, in America by Prof. E. J. Goodspeed, and by French and Italian scholars.

¹⁶ The new discipline of *Formgeschichte*, with chief contributions by Professors Dibelius, Bultmann, and K. L. Schmidt.

¹⁷ Sanday did not hesitate to put his own repugnance into words; see his reference to Prof. Bacon's German study in *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* (New York, 1905), p. 24.

¹⁸ The reference is to the work of Professor Burkitt; the quality of his *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and of his *The Old Latin and the Itala* contrasts strangely with his work on the Gospels and Acts.

is the fact that the non-conformist churches, of necessity slow in developing educational institutions and in articulating characteristic theological positions, are assuming their places in scholarly production. While on the whole their work is conservative, the materials recently published give some promise of going beyond the restricted frontier allowed by the theology of the established church.

Other continental European work admits brief characterization. Dutch scholarship developed a radical point of view which seems now to have run its course.¹⁹ Theoretically, even abstractly, based, Dutch radicalism never related itself to scientific processes. Contemporary Dutch work is comparable in character as well as in result with that of other modern scholars. The Scandinavian countries have developed biblical studies which bear comparison with the best modern work. This is due largely to two influences: the two universities of Sweden and the one of Norway are of high standing and rich in scholarly tradition, while the influence of that remarkable leader, the late Archbishop Söderblom, was profound, extensive, and greatly beneficial to scholarly theological study. Work in the Latin countries is not produced in large volume, but is excellent in quality; and while the Protestant scholars of France and Italy are few, their work is of value. The great handicap under which they labor is the paucity of a reading public for their findings. While Italian work has been chiefly in archaeological research and the study of Christianity's environment, French work is inclusive of all aspects of literary and historical criticism. While Loisy is probably the most famous French scholar, his work represents the culmination of Catholic Modernism;²⁰ Goguel is without doubt the leading French Protestant scholar. Cumont in Belgium deserves mention. However, it is worthy of note that while his work on the environment of early Christianity is of the highest value, any generalizations which are made are either in fields to which the Catholic church does not object or are in line with the teachings of the church. While speaking of Catholic scholars it may be observed that work of great erudition, often reporting much useful statistical information, is done by them. For instance, the full bibliographies which are always to be found in a Catholic

¹⁹ A new study of the Dutch radicals has been made by Dr. Harry G. Hager, and incorporated in his (unpublished) dissertation, *The Dutch School of Radical New Testament Criticism* (University of Chicago Libraries, 1933).

²⁰ The best statement of the story of Catholic Modernism in English is that of Sabatier, *Modernism* (London, 1908).

work are in each case inclusive of all important work done on the given problem in almost every language. Of course, the results obtained always square with the theological viewpoint held in view from the start.

American work finds itself in the unhappy position of being generally ignored by European scholars. Yet the history of biblical interpretation in America can be written. The basic facts may be briefly stated. In the periods of colonial settlement radical views common in the southern and central localities became much more influential than the orthodox thought of the northern colonies, so that American revolutionary thought, in which there were theological implications, influenced European opinion, with a distinct trend from the American to the French Revolution. It is interesting to note that Jefferson, one of the leaders of colonial thought, was enough of a biblical critic to evaluate and analyze the ethical teachings of Jesus and to produce a book embodying the results of his studies. Obviously British Deism was a force in early American thought. Presently, however, it was the influence of Continental and British Pietism which became stronger; it was this influence which dominated evangelical expansion, and spread the characteristic theology which is encountered as the frontier extended to the West. About the second quarter of the nineteenth century the theological schools began to arise, so that by the middle of the century there was present a theological scholarship of some respectability. It was German influence which then dominated. To be sure, it was the influence of the mediating school, not of contemporary radicals like Strauss and Baur (or, presently, Renan). It was not long, however, before influences of the sciences became apparent; from that time theological study in Europe by American scholars, particularly in Germany, led to the development of a theological scholarship which in many of its representatives met the highest standard. One further observation with reference to American work may be made. It is an unfortunate fact that the great bulk of American research is done in theological seminaries which are denominationally controlled, rather than in universities. While excellent work is sometimes done in such institutions, it is clear that a liberation of the restraint of denominational control is a necessity before American theological scholarship may come into its own.

Recognizing that in every locality there are inevitable variables in biblical scholarship, it should nevertheless be clear from this survey that modern biblical study has its own characteristics,

and that the modern period, like other historical periods, may be viewed as an example of adaptation to environment. We live, in whatever country we enjoy citizenship, in a "new" world. Biblical criticism, like many another aspect of the religious life, is endeavoring to use the equipment of the new world for its particular purposes.

EARLY RELATIONS OF BAPTISTS AND QUAKERS

R. E. E. HARKNESS

Chester, Pennsylvania

On a little hillside that rises abruptly from the Baltimore Pike, an old highway from Philadelphia to Baltimore, some fifty miles south of Philadelphia, stands a little old meeting-house around which gather many interesting historical incidents. It is the home of the Brandywine Baptist Church, on the edge of the famous Brandywine battle field where Washington, joined for the first time by Lafayette, met defeat by the British under Howe and Cornwallis and was forced to abandon Philadelphia, September 11, 1777. Giant oak trees tower high on the hillside to-day and members of the church will point out the one against which, according to tradition, the young French general leaned, severely wounded.

But the church, housed by that stone structure, was old when the Declaration of Independence was signed in the city to the north. Nor does its chief historical value rest in the fact that the site of its building lies in the midst of one of the great battle grounds of that war. Its larger interest is to be found in the fact that the history of this particular church, especially in its origin, reveals in a rather exceptional way the nature of religion as a movement in the life of a people, a rationalization in support of their choices, decisions and conduct, in their effort to establish themselves, find security and highest well-being.

For this church had its beginning in 1692, only ten years after the coming of William Penn to America, and was the result of a radical revolutionary modification of the thinking and practice of certain Quakers. By this date some of the members of that religious body had moved this distance from the main centre at Philadelphia, following the water-courses. Here in the wilderness, with all its dangers, the simple Quaker faith and manner of life was not sufficient to give them assurance of complete security. Hence many of them turned Baptist. But it may be well to let them tell their own story.

Recently a little sheet of paper came to light, discovered in the ancient record book of this church. From all evidences it was written at the time by those involved in the transaction. The state-

ment follows, with as faithful a reproduction as possible of its quaint expressions and stranger spelling:

Things transacted by a Congragation usually met at Powels house at upper provitence in the County of Chester about the year 1692 as follows

Whereas by Gods providance we transported ourselves in the provence of pensylvania amarica from our Native countrys of England and wales by the profession under denomination of Quakers in process of time there Happened some difference bettween us in doctrine At which time it pleased the Lord to incline our heart to be more like those of bethlehem or them of Thesolonica to search the Scripture in which Search it Pleased him to open our understanding in many Things who we ware all-together ignorant of before And that in fundementels as well as in other Things pertaining to the Christian Religion of a Long Continuance of Conferance and Contension between us That ware Separated from the other party of the Said profession who thought it Expedient being Persweded by our hearts through hope by a measure of His Spiret to put in practice those what we think To be our dutyes Espacially the ordinance of Baptism and the Lords Supper where that passage in John 15-14 ye are my friends if you do what so Ever I Command you and what other Scriptures We consider of use an instruction to our practising of the above Said ordinance and to know how many ware inclined or willing to proceed on which accordingly was done by consent as for other Things that some objected who thought Expedient At present to practise but going to look an Administrator

Here the story breaks off abruptly and no further statement can be found. But enough has been said for us to identify this group and to understand why "In the process of time there Happened some difference . . . of doctrine" and why they should be "Persweded" to put into practice those new "dutyes Espacially the ordinance of Baptism and the Lords Supper."

This body at Upper Providence was but a part of that larger society of Quakers which was led by George Keith in 1691 into a division with the parent meeting of Philadelphia. Keith, a very prominent member in the old country, where he had been closely associated with George Fox and William Penn, having travelled to Holland and Germany with them, had come to America about 1684. Presumably in the new land his former trust in the "inner light" began to fail him and he sought more tangible and certain assurance of the personal presence and help of God in his life.

Morgan Edwards, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, 1761-1772, in his *Materials towards a history of Baptists*

in Pennsylvania, says: "Soon after the settlement of Pennsylvania a difference arose among the Quakers touching *the sufficiency of what every man naturally has within himself for the purpose of his own salvation*. Some denied that sufficiency, and consequently magnified the external Word, Christ, etc. . . . These were headed by the famous George Keith, and therefore called Keithians." And continuing, he adds: "These by resigning themselves to the guidance of Scripture began to find water in the commission, bread and wine in the command; community of goods, love feast, kiss of charity, right hand of fellowship, anointing the sick for recovery, and washing the disciples' feet in other texts; and therefore were determined to practice accordingly." That is, the sense of human dignity, of personal worth, of the inner power of man to meet all emergencies which possessed these people in the little towns of safe and settled England, soon began to fail some of them when they found themselves alone, face to face with strange ways of life amidst the dreaded possibilities of an unknown country. Now they felt the lack of those bonds of unity experienced in the fellowship of the ordinances and other traditional forms of Christianity. These hitherto radical individualists now needed to place reliance upon a Power external to themselves, and a more concrete representation of the presence and support of God in their struggle with the outside world and the constant fear of defeat by privation, disease, and wild beasts. Religion had to be transformed in order to meet the demands of a revolutionized social order.

It is also of value to note that the majority of these Keithian Quakers became Baptists. Morgan Edwards tells us that besides this society at Upper Providence there was one at Philadelphia, a third at Southampton in Bucks County (some thirty miles north of Philadelphia) and still another in "Lowerdublin township," now within the limits of the city. "Thus", he adds, "we have seen that the Keithian Quakers ended in a kind of transformation into Keithian Baptists; they were also called Quaker Baptists because they still retained the language, dress and manners of the Quakers." William Sewel, in his authoritative and monumental *History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers*, speaking of the activities of Keith in America and the declension of his followers from the main body, says that many Baptists of Pennsylvania "sided with him."

The question why this should be so leads to the further question of the relationship of the early Baptists and Quakers and also

to a consideration of the social significance of the rise of these two religious bodies in England during the seventeenth century.

* * * *

Such study reveals a much closer association than has generally been recognized. Properly speaking, the English Baptists, as an organized Christian body bearing the distinctive name Baptist, began in 1608 when a group of English exiles in Holland under the leadership of John Smyth came to the conclusion that salvation was "by faith in Christ alone," and therefore rejected infant baptism and adopted the adult form. The Quakers may be said to have had their origin in the preaching of George Fox, beginning in 1647. But many of the customs, practices, and doctrines of the Quakers are found to have been the possession of the older group from its inception. In fact one historian makes the bold statement that "the doctrines of the Friends were in many respects but a reproduction of Baptist doctrines, and the early history of their Society allies itself in many points to Baptist history."¹

In a large measure this estimate is true, especially the second part of it. A favorite word of George Fox was "the seed." Men were redeemed by "the seed," and some times the believer himself was called "the seed." Writing to certain associates who went forth preaching in 1654, Fox implores them "to know the seed of God, which bruiseth the head of the serpent." And in his *Journal* he affirms that Christians are those "who are born again of the immortal Seed by the Word of God which lives and abides forever." But a member² of John Smyth's group which had returned to England, presenting the position of the Baptists as early as 1615, declares that the first duty of a disciple is "to beget men anew by the immortal seed of God's word." And that which from their origin set the Baptists apart from the other Christian bodies was their insistence that the church was composed only of the regenerate, those who were transformed and led by the spirit of Christ and was therefore spiritual, Christ alone being its Supreme Head.

William Dell, a Baptist minister, preaching before the House of Commons, Wednesday, November 25, 1646, on "Right Reformation," asserted there are "No laws in God's kingdom but God's laws . . . and they are these three: the law of a new nature; the

¹ Norman Fox, "George Fox and the Early Friends," *Baptist Quarterly*, New York, October, 1877.

² *Tracts on Liberty of Conscience*, Hanserd Knollys Society Edition, 1846. p. 166.

law of the spirit of life that is in Christ; the law of love. . . . May a Christian then live as he lists? No, by no means; for he hath the word and Spirit in him to keep him from living as he list."

Perhaps this man of prominence among the Baptists most clearly illustrates the similarity in views as held by these two societies. It was said by some of his contemporaries that he "should rather be ranked among the Quakers than the Baptists." This was claimed especially because his sentiments regarding baptism so closely accorded with those prevailing among the Quakers. It was his contention that "water baptism was superseded by the baptism of the Holy Ghost," and his book entitled *The Doctrine of Baptism* was held in such high repute among the Quakers that it was printed and circulated by them in their Societies.³

But Dell was not the only Baptist who held this position. The member of Smyth's church mentioned above, writing in 1615 asks: "Whether is greater the water and washing, or the word that sanctifies the water?" Henry Denne, immersed in 1643, wrote in defence of the Quaker practice. Henry Jessey, immersed 1645, published a treatise in which his thesis is that baptism is "the outward sign of the inward grace wrought by the spirit," and cautions: "Therefore consider whether such a practice, hath a command or an example, that persons must be joined into church fellowship by water baptism." John Gifford who established the Baptist church at Bedford in 1650, writing to the members shortly before his death, September 21, 1655, says: "Union with Christ is the foundation of all saints' communion; and not merely any ordinances of Christ, or any judgment or opinion about externals." So likewise John Bunyan, himself immersed in "a creek by the river Ouse" in 1653, and later pastor of the Bedford church, taught that "water baptism hath nothing to do in a church, as a church; it neither bringeth us into the church, nor is any part of our worship when we come there." Man's chief concern should be that he was "baptized of the Spirit." Such also was the position of Roger Williams, founder of Rhode Island Colony on the principle of liberty of conscience, and organizer of the Baptist Church of Providence in 1639, the first Baptist church established in America.

A traditional characteristic of the Quakers is their objection to taking an oath of any sort. George Fox recounts in his *Journal* how he enlightened Justice Marsh of London in his perplexity regarding distinctions between Baptists and Quakers in respect to

³ Joseph Ivimey, *History of the English Baptists*, Vol. II, p. 60.

their refusal to swear oaths. "They, or most of them, thou speakest of," said Fox to the Squire, "can and do swear in some cases, but we cannot swear in any case. If a man should steal their cows and horses, and thou shouldest ask them whether they would swear they were theirs, they would readily do it. But if thou try our Friends, they cannot swear for their own goods."⁴ It has generally been admitted that the wise founder made a very telling distinction with his homely illustration and it is commonly accepted as quite true, it being acknowledged that the Baptists refused to take the oath of supremacy since it implied the recognition of earthly authority over conscience, and thus also some refused to take the oath of allegiance. Roger Williams, on the other hand, says that Quakers did take oath. "I have read," he asserts, "a sober and man like Answer of F. H. called a Quaker against A. S. called a Doctor, concerning Oaths . . . and any that please may see F. H. yields to A. S. that himself, (and I presume he speaks the mind of all the Quakers) could yield to give Testimony in wighty Cases, by the Name and in the Name of God, as in the presence of God, and attest or call God to witness, etc."⁵

Now the first Baptist Confession of Faith, drawn up some time before 1612, in Article 36, reads: "Christ, the King and Law-giver of the New Testament, hath prohibited Christians the swearing of oaths; therefore it is not permitted that the faithful of the New Testament should swear at all." And the second Confession of 1614 states in Article 86 that disciples "are not to go to law before the magistrate (I Cor. vi:1, 7) and that all their differences must be ended by (yea) and (nay) without an oath (Matt. v:33-37; James v:12)."

So likewise a number of "Baptist prisoners in gaol at Maidstone" writing to King Charles II, under date "of 25th day of the 11th month, commonly called January (1600-1)," declare they cannot take the oath of allegiance because they "cannot swear at all, the Lord Christ having forbidden, in the fifth of Matthew, 33rd verse, compared with James v:12, not only vain oaths, but also such swearing as was delivered of old time . . ." And John Sturgion, in his *Plea for Toleration*, presented to Charles in 1661, says that Baptists are not free to take the oath of allegiance "by

⁴ *The Journal of George Fox*. Everyman's Library. p. 255.

⁵ Williams, R., *George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes*. Publications of the Narragansett Club, Vol. V, p. 412.

reason Christ saith, Matt. v:34, 'Swear not at all;' and in St. James v:12, 'Above all things, my brethren, swear not.' They mistaking these two places, understand that Christians should not swear in any case."⁶ It is only fair to state, however, that in Fox's day there were Baptists who did not hold to these principles.

Another custom, seemingly peculiar to the Quakers, was numbering the months and days of the week rather than using what to them were the pagan names. This practice was adopted even by the Puritans, as may be seen in the *Journals* of Governors Bradford of Plymouth and Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay. But that it was also the custom of the Baptists is evident from the letter of the prisoners in Maidstone jail, quoted above, and from their early writings such as that by John Canne dated, "Amsterdam, 1641, 12th month," and the innumerable records of the churches, as that of Spalding: "The 31st day of the sixth month," or, "Fenstanton, the 7th day of the tenth month."

Perhaps the most distinctive mark of the Quakers, from their founding to the present, has been their consistent and courageous opposition to war. But it must be stated, without detracting from the credit of these avowed pacifists, that the early Baptists placed themselves on similar record, though to their discredit may it be said, they have not held to it. Article 35 of their first Confession (1612) is worthy of quotation, if for no other reason than its beauty of expression. It reads, "Worldly authority or magistracy is a necessary ordinance of God . . . we are obliged to pray Almighty God for them." But, "neither hath he called his disciples or followers to be worldly kings, princes, potentates or magistrates . . . Yea, rather they are called of him . . . to the following of his unarmed and unweaponed life, and of his cross-bearing footsteps. . . . This then considered (as also further, that upon the office of the worldly authority many other things depend, as wars . . . to hurt his enemies in body or good) . . . which evilly or not at all will fit or consort with the Christ, and the crucified life of the Christians." And Article 85 of the Confession of 1614 states that a disciple, even a magistrate, "must love his enemies and not kill them," for he cannot "retain the revenge of the sword." Though Roger Williams, seeking to keep the peace among the colonies of New England, wrote to the authorities of Massachusetts: "I never was against the righteous use of the civil sword of men or

⁶ *Tracts on Liberty of Conscience*, Hanserd Knollys, p. 306.

nations," yet he insisted that "there is no other way of preserving peace in the world, but by permission of differing consciences." And, rather advanced for his day, he argued that all promoters of wars "maintain their wars to be defensive," but that no war, whatever its righteous zeal and however great its success and victory, could ever repay for "the enraging of the nation by taxes, the ruin of thousands who depended upon manufactures and merchandize, the loss of many thousand seamen, and others, many of whom many worlds are not worthy."

Finally,⁷ a custom for which Quakerism is deservedly noted is its simple and beautiful marriage ceremony, by which the contracting parties, in the presence of the meeting, pledge their vows one to another and the certificate is then signed by all the witnesses. This, with certain other slight requirements, was the form prescribed by law in Pennsylvania in 1682 and many years following. In the Record Book of the Brandywine Baptist Church appear two certificates of such weddings under date of 1694, couched in the quaint phraseology of the time. A copy of one follows:

"Radnor the 25th of ye 4th month 1694

Whereas William Thomas & Elizabeth Philips both residing at Newton in the County of Chester & province of Pennsylvania have publickly declared their intention of marriage at several meetings held at Thomas Powells house at Providence in ye county & Province aforesaid, the said meeting having nothing to object against their proceedings, together with ye consent of relations had & obtained left them to their freedom to p'ceed in their said intention of marriage.

These therefore are to certifie all it may Concern that in order to ye full Effecting, Determination & Consummation of their said Intention of marriage the day & year above written. The said p'ties being come to David Price's at Radnor aforesaid, & in an Assembly then & there met, stood up together & then & there the said William Thomas solemnly declared as followeth Viz. Friends I do (here before God & this Assembly) take Elizabeth Philips to be my wedded wife & promise (as the Lord shall assist me) to behave myself to her as a faithful husband ought to behave himself to his wife from this day forward till death separate us. In the like manner ye said Elizabeth Philips solemnly declared as followeth viz. Friends I do here (In the fear of the Lord) take William Thomas to be my wedded husband, & promise (as the Lord shall assist me) to be his loving wife & to behave myself as a wife ought to behave herself toward her husband from this day forward till death separate us. And for further confirmation of ye same & said portion have to these

⁷ Other likenesses are, opposition to singing in church and equality of all.

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presents set their hands. In witness whereof we being there & then present have hereunto subscribed our names.

(Thirty four names signed here) William Thomas &
Elizabeth Philips
Their markes."

This doubtless will be considered one illustration of how these particular Baptists "retained the language, dress, and manners of the Quakers," as Morgan Edwards states. But history proves that in this practice the Baptists again precede the Friends. Even the Puritans objected to the ecclesiastical form of the marriage rite, and John Smyth joined with the Independents in asserting that since in the Old Testament and the New marriage was neither the function of the priest or the minister, therefore it was wholly a "civil thing," though a minister might add his blessing to the ceremony.

Moreover, not only did the Baptists draw up the form which was adopted by the Quakers but they are responsible for having had its observance enacted into law. The first Parliament of Oliver Cromwell, radical in the extreme, was composed mostly of Baptists, or, perhaps more truly, they held the balance of power. In fact it was dubbed Barebone's Parliament because of the name of one of its most active members, the Rev. Praise-God Barebone, a Baptist minister of London. This Parliament ordered that "after the 29th of September, 1653" a marriage was "effectual in law" when, after receiving the usual consent of parents and the bans had been published "in the church or chapel three several Lord's Days, after the morning service; or else in the market-place three several weeks successively," the contracting parties shall appear before a justice of the peace and "the man to be married shall take the woman by the hand, and distinctly pronounce these words; I, A. B., do here, in the presence of God, the Searcher of all hearts, take thee, C. D., for my wedded wife; and do also, in the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be to thee a loving and faithful husband," the woman taking similar vows on her part.

The law concludes with the emphatic statement that "no other marriage whatsoever, within the commonwealth of England, after the 29th of September, 1653, shall be held or accounted a marriage according to the law of England." This enactment, except for the final clause, was confirmed by the Parliament of 1656, and remained in force until the passage of the Marriage Act in 1753.⁸

⁸ Daniel Neal, *History of the Puritans*, Vol. II, p. 134.

which compelled all but Quakers and Jews to conform to the Anglican rite, which law was in force until 1836.

That Baptists solemnized marriages without observing the necessity of appearing before a justice of the peace, appears from the records of their churches. The celebrated Thomas Grantham, defending the form in 1689, thus describes it: "The Parties to be married being qualified for that State of life, according to the Law of God, and the Law of the Land, as to the Degrees, etc. therein limited; they call together a competent number of their relations and friends; and having usually some of our Ministry present with them, the Parties concerned declare their contract formerly made between themselves, and with the advice of their friends, if occasion require it: and then taking each other by the Hand, do declare, That they from that day forward, during their natural Lives together, do enter into the State of Marriage. . . . And then a Writing is signed by the Parties married," and a certificate signed by the witnesses was annexed.⁹

The records of the Bromsgrove church contain many records of marriages celebrated before the congregation, one of which follows:

"At a church meeting upon the 14th day of the 10th month, 1692, That civil contract of marriage was between John Hayns and Susannah Ducks, solemnized and performed; before the Lord God, Angels, and us, who were then witnesses at the same time, and several members male and female.

John Eckles, Sen."¹⁰

The similarity, if not identity, of the customs and doctrines held by these two groups thus indicates a common social and religious origin. But even stronger evidence may be found. Whatever the religious affiliations of his immediate family, Fox had an uncle in London named Pickering who was a Baptist. And it is quite evident from his *Journal* that in the early years of his preaching Fox found these people friendly and sympathetic. He tells us that "they were tender then." He often held meetings in Baptist homes and met with generous responsiveness on their part. In fact it is of the Baptists he most frequently speaks as those with whom he has held discussions, many of them being "convinced" and uniting with his followers. But toward his later years the *Journal* indicates much less good feeling, due no doubt to the animosity of many Baptist leaders over the loss of their members.

⁹ Ivimey, *History of the Baptists*, Vol. II, p. 281.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 596.

And that loss was to be reckoned by no small numbers. Louise F. Brown, in her Prize Essay, *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men*, makes the statement that "the ranks of the latter (Quakers) were very largely recruited from among the former (Baptists)." And the records of the churches abundantly bear out the truth of that statement. The Baptist shepherds were kept busy protecting their flocks against the attacks of the "ravenous wolves." Nor were they always successful in their efforts.

The records of the Fenstanton church abound with such reports as this: "Anno Domini, 1652. On the 11th day of the first month, Christopher Lindsey and his wife, of Hemingford Gray (being formerly admonished and reproved according to the rules of scripture, Titus iii:10), were excommunicated for these ensuing reasons, *viz.* :

First, For forsaking the assembly of the saints.

Secondly, For slighting and despising all the ordinances of God.

Thirdly, For denying to be guided and ruled by the holy scripture.

Fourthly, For affirming that men in all things do the will of God, and that God is the author of all their actions.

Fifthly, For despising and contemning the admonitions of the church."

Many Baptist ministers were set apart to go about among their people to admonish and reason with them against the teaching of the Quakers. Sometimes they succeeded in establishing the wavering ones, but as often they failed. In 1654 Thomas Denne and Brother Edmond Mayle were sent to Chatteris to reprove Thomas Rosse and others for renouncing their former faith. But they sadly report: "Thomas Rosse cried out with a loud voice; 'Baptism we disown; preaching we disown; we disown you all, with the ordinances you practise.' We, being something amazed at this rash speech, kept silent; . . . and perceiving no hope of repentance, we excommunicated them."¹¹ And so the story continued. In 1655 the church at Littleport gave notice that twelve of their number (two of them being elders) had "turned Quakers" while "one and twenty" stood fast.¹¹ And the Hexham church¹¹ reported that "those deceived souls, called Quakers . . . have seduced two of our society, and six in the Newcastle Church."

Even ministers fell victims to the "heresy" as when Samuel

¹¹ *Records of Fenstanton, Warboys, & Hexham Churches*, pp. 131, 146, 352.

Fisher "about the year 1655 being strongly attacked by two of the leading men of the people called Quakers, Caton and Stubbs, he embraced their sentiments and wrote several books in defence of their opinions, which were held in great esteem amongst them."¹² And William Baily,¹³ Baptist minister at Pool, when Fox visited the town "at the beginning of 1656 . . . was convinced of his principles and entered into the Society of Quakers." So likewise, Mr. Richard Claridge, A. M., of London, about 1691 "relinquished the sentiments of the Baptists and embraced those of the Quakers, amongst whom he was very celebrated."¹⁴

But doubtless the hardest blow to bear would be such news as that Dennis Hollister, an influential member, at whose house "the meeting for Conference on ye fifth day of ye week" was usually held, and who represented the City of Bristol in Cromwell's first Parliament, had accepted the Quaker doctrine in 1648. Little wonder that Baptist feelings should find expression in such convictions as: "Thus smoke out of the bottomless pit arose, and the locust doctrine came forth, as it is written, Rev. ix:2, 3, 4."¹⁵

But such bitterness was not always displayed and at times friendly debates were held on points of differences. This was especially true in after years. Such a disputation was arranged to be held March 1, 1717, in Northamptonshire. When news of it came to leaders of the two groups in London, they united, five Baptist elders and four Quakers, in writing the parties in Northamptonshire, suggesting that for the good of their mutual cause such a debate be not held. However, this appeal not being received until the day appointed, the meeting was held and a second one arranged for to discuss certain points which they had not time to touch upon. But upon receipt of another letter from the leaders in London the matter was dropped and no further dissension is noted.

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Thus a brief item in the records of a little church hidden in the hills of primitive Pennsylvania, in the new world of America, provokes curiosity of research and points a lesson in the philosophy of history. The Protestant Reformation is the first slight victory of certain peoples in the struggle for democracy and denotes

¹² Ivimey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 248.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 598.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 596.

¹⁵ *Records of a Church of Christ meeting at Broadmead, Bristol, 1640-87*, Hanserd Knollys Society, p. 43.

the development from imperialism to nationalism on the Continent of Europe. And the later history of the Christian Church is the history of the growth of democracy among these people. The Reformation did not secure religious liberty for the common people. It did win religious freedom for the state or nation. For the Reformation was in reality the achievement by some of the European states of independence, political and religious, from the Holy Roman Empire. But they immediately set up a national form of religion to which all their citizens must conform. Democracy, in either state or church, was an utter impossibility in the economy of the times. Personal liberty in matters of conscience or religious concerns was considered as radical and absurd as it was in civil affairs. There must be authority in one as in the other.

But folks were rising to places of power. Serfdom was passing away as an outgrown social order. People were asserting their rights. On the Continent were the Taborites, not to go too far back in the history of the movement. During and following the Reformation, the Anabaptists and their kindred, the Mennonites, attacked the established national systems as fiercely as ever the Reformers had the imperial. Europe was in ferment and anarchy with what seemed to the authorities the radical fanaticism of these proponents of personal rights.

In England the movement may have been older in origin. Wyclif and his Lollards had championed personal worth. And when the break did come with Rome in the early sixteenth century, the common people were in high hopes. Here also, however, the state soon taught them that it had not meant liberty and freedom in their sense. But whereas on the continent "democracy" generally was suppressed, in England the battle was continued to final victory. From imperialism or Romanism the reform progressed through Nationalism or Anglicanism to Puritanism, to independency, and Separatism, and on to extreme radicalism, which brings us to the Baptists and Quakers. These are the English folk who demanded personal liberty, democracy in religion and politics, and "government of the people, by the people, for the people." They, not the Puritans, put Charles I to death. Before that could be accomplished, Cromwell was forced to conquer the Puritans themselves. They sought to reform the King by constitutional law. Cromwell and his radicals believed that the only good king was a dead king, and they proceeded to act accordingly.

With the overthrow of the monarchy, the most fantastic hopes arose in the hearts of Englishmen. The millennium had

come; the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand. England veritably swarmed with factions and sects with their nostrums for the kingdom's welfare, bothering Cromwell with their constant agitations. Closely related and grouped together in this general radicalism were Baptists, Quakers, Seekers, Ranters, Fifth Monarchy Men, Levellers, and Diggers.

The Baptists were the oldest among these groups, beginning early in the seventeenth century, when after the moderate reign of Elizabeth the people had succeeded in winning a large voice in the affairs of the nation. They were thus the conservatives among the radicals. They had been able to work out a clear cut scheme for the separation of church and state. They believed in government upon consent of the governed but in general accepted the king and magistrate as the chosen officers to whom, as Scripture enjoined, honor and respect should be given in civil things. They had no authority in matters of conscience; that belonged to Christ alone. Thus they believed in constituted authority, obedience to civil law and to the Bible as the divinely appointed earthly authority in religion. Theirs was a democracy with respect for the properly and divinely appointed authority whether in state or church.

The Quakers were more extreme. With their belief in the direct, personal presence of the Spirit and the guidance of the inner light they felt little need of any earthly authority, especially in religion. For the Baptist, the Scriptures were an authoritative guide. For the Quaker, the Spirit was. Not that the Scriptures were rejected, but that they were, so to speak, brought down to date by the personal guidance of the Spirit. This was recognized by the early Baptists themselves. Said John Denne, quoted above, reporting to the Fenstanton church in 1654 the results of his disputes with the Quakers:

"But, brethren, you must understand that their denial of the scriptures, is only denying them to be a rule to try the spirit by. For they say, that they own the scriptures to be a true declaration of the estate and condition of those persons they speak of; and those ordinances commanded therein, they own to be true to those persons in that time. But they are no rule for us to walk by. We must every one look to the light of our own consciences. Thus have I given you an account of our actions that day."

This attitude toward the Scriptures accounts also for the line of demarcation between these two democratic bodies in civil matters. The Baptist, accepting the instructions of Scripture, gave honor to those in authority. The Quaker with his doctrine of the

indwelling of the Spirit in every human being asserted his independence and equality with all. Thus George Fox¹⁶ "found also that the Lord forbade him to put off his hat to any man, high or low; and he was required to Thou and Thee every man and woman without distinction, and not to bid people 'Good Morrow' or 'Good Evening'; neither might he bow or scrape with his leg to any one." That surely was the assertion of democracy. And so when Quakers were haled into court in Massachusetts Bay Colony, they stood up with their hats on and called Governor Endicott plain "John" much to the horror of all good Puritans present.

This also, in the final analysis, after digging "Fox out of his Burrows" was the severest criticism Roger Williams could make of the Quakers. They were "rude of manners," he said, with "their bruitish Salutatuions of strangers, yea, and of acquaintances, Foes or Friends," ". . . their New Way of feeling and grabling the hand in an uncouth and immodest way" and "their bruitish Irreverance to all their Superiours either in Age, or in any other way of Preheminence . . . some of us have heard the Children of the Quakers brought up to say to their Fathers George thou lyest; Mary thou lyest to their parents."¹⁷ And in his concluding remarks he asserts: "This is the main ground of my Controversy with the proud Quakers, . . . Only if they can come to their Church, etc. and Thou and thee, and disresp'ct all Superiours then are they high Saints, cannot Sin, etc."¹⁸ He was, in fact, quite disgusted with their use of "Thou and Thee." "Every Nation," he argues, "every Shire, every Calling have their particular Properties or Idioms of Speech, which are improper and ridiculous with others; Hence these simple Reformers are extreamly ridiculous in giving Thou and Thee to every body, which our Nation commonly gives to Familiars only; and they are extreamly and insufferably proud and contemptuous unto all their Superiours in using Thou to every body which our English Ideom or propriety of speech useth in way of familiarity or of Anger, Scorn and Contempt."¹⁹

But even in this respect Baptists and Quakers were closely agreed. Tallack tells us that "many of the early Baptists used the singular pronouns "thou" and "thee" in addressing individuals."²⁰

¹⁶ Sewel, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁷ George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrows. Publications of the Narragansett Club. Vol. V. p. 211.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

²⁰ William Tallack, *George Fox, The Friends and the Early Baptists*, p. 79.

And their Confession of Faith of 1651 reads in Article 63: "That the church of Jesus Christ ought not to think of any man above what is meet, lest that they give that honour to man, which properly and alone belongeth unto God."

Thus we can understand why so many of the Quakers in the New World became Baptists. They had been Baptists. In their origin they were almost as truly a section or society of the Baptists as the Wesleyans were of the Anglicans.²¹ In old England with their established customs and ways of life they could be extremists in religion and still feel secure and safe. But in America, the old safeguards were gone; the familiar props upon which they had leaned had been left behind. Other reliable and trustworthy foundations must be found. These, they discovered, they had brought with them, near at hand—the Scriptures and the ordinances. They fell back upon them and found peace.

²¹ Roger Williams did not agree with this in his day, so far as New England was concerned.

"I know it is the observation of one of G. Fox his Opposites a man of excellent knowledge, piety & industry, M. Baxter *viz.* that the Churches of the Independents, & Baptists have been the source and Spring whence have flown the Generation of the Quakers. For my self I have observed the contrary these parts, and that although some rotten Professors, or weak Souls though true have been bewitched by those Soul-witches yet generally where they have Liberty the National Church fills up their numbers . . ." *George Fox Digg'd, etc.*, p. 341. And yet according to tradition the first person in Providence to embrace Quakerism was Richard Scot, who had been one of the first Baptists to unite with Roger Williams in the church of that city.

IN MEMORIAM

FRANKLIN PIERCE MANHART, D.D., LL.D.

Franklin Pierce Manhart, professor of systematic theology and church history and dean of the School of Theology of Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, retired as professor emeritus in June, 1933, after having served in that capacity almost thirty years, and died on September 13. He was born at Catawissa, Pennsylvania, on August 30, 1852, and after graduating from Gettysburg College in 1877 became a teacher. Four years later he was ordained to the ministry by the Susquehanna Synod of the Lutheran Church. He did graduate work in history and philosophy in the years 1895-97 at the University of Pennsylvania, and later at Johns Hopkins University. He had served as professor and dean of the Susquehanna University School of Theology since 1904.

Dr. Manhart was keenly interested in efforts looking toward uniting the various groups of the Lutheran church, and actively supported all measures contributing to the attainment of that goal. He contributed much toward the success of the union of the three bodies which formed, in 1918, the United Lutheran Church. He was likewise a diligent student of Lutheran denominational history, and from 1911 was president of the Lutheran Historical Society and the Lutheran Historical Academy. He was awarded the degree of D.D. by Gettysburg College in 1899, and of LL.D. by Wittenberg College in 1925.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE SOCIAL TRIUMPH OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH

BY SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933. 250 pages. \$2.00.

Three series of lectures upon the Rauschenbusch Foundation have been delivered at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School; the first by a brilliant preacher and favorite student of Rauschenbusch; the second by an editor a little too sure of himself; and the third by a painstaking historian, the new Dean of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. In the first series of these lectures, there were 23 footnotes; in the second, 7; in the third, 216. This third volume is based also upon a study of the sources. Page 70, for example, contains a list of early Christian occupations which must have required as much research as some entire volumes. Solid facts are wedded to perspective in a critical and objective survey of the social triumph of the ancient church. It is the first of the Rauschenbusch series to become a Religious Book Club Selection.

After an accurate analysis of the culture in which Christianity originated, Dr. Case traces the slow upward climb of the church from the proletarian level of its birth to the social, economic, and political heights it had reached at the time of its triumph three centuries later. His discriminating review of Christianity's relation to human values, worldly goods, social prestige, and politics brings Harnack up to date, while his description of the social task of the church reaches to 1933. The new type of copyright forbids quotation, else the unique features of this study might be illustrated by numerous excerpts, of which the last sentence in the book would certainly be one. There is scarcely a page which does not suggest a sermon to the intelligent minister.

The main point—that the early church far from launching a program of social reconstruction, was a group of separatists feverishly hoping and praying for a supernatural intervention and catastrophic destruction of the world and that Christianity only reluctantly and very gradually became involved in the civilization of the Mediterranean world—sober historical judgment must endorse.

Conrad Henry Moehlman.

Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.

TWO ELIZABETHAN PURITAN DIARIES

By RICHARD ROGERS AND SAMUEL WARD

Edited with an Introduction by M. M. KNAPPEN. *Studies in Church History*, Vol. II. Chicago: The American Society of Church History, 1933. 148 pages. \$2.00 if ordered directly; \$3.00 retail.

In his edition of these diaries Dr. Knappen has presented an exceptionally informing contribution to the history of Puritanism. The documents are preceded by three papers: the first of these deals with "the

Puritan Character as Seen in the Diaries," the others with the lives of the two writers. The study of Puritan character is particularly useful. The author observes "the overwhelming preponderance of the ethical element" in the way of life which the documents reveal. A note of almost monastic austerity is detected. Concessions in matters of property and family life were guarded by reservations. No delight in worldly scenes or employments was held legitimate. "Godliness," the ideal to which they strove, was not, however, a course of conduct but a state of mind. It was largely a concentration on right things and a readiness to meet obligations. Rogers combats in himself the faults of "roving fantasie," covetousness, "unprofitableness," i. e., the failure to edify others, and neglect of study. Emotional experiences, including comfort and exaltation, are a strongly marked feature of this piety.

Professor Knappen contrasts the testimony of the diaries with Weber's well-known specifications of Puritanism, in which stress is laid upon isolation, emotional coldness, and activity in worldly calling. He draws from the evidence of these records the suggestion that we should abandon Weber's distinction between the emotionlessness of Puritanism and the warmth of Pietism. He might easily have pushed this argument further by specific comparison of some of the passages of ardent feeling that abound in these documents and the very similar expressions of August Hermann Francke or Johann Daniel Herrnschmid, Halle Pietists of the early eighteenth century. Mr. H. M. Robertson, in his recent *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism*, has attacked the structure of Weber's interpretation of Puritanism from the side of the history of economic theory, leaving scarcely one stone upon another. Knappen has indicated here how inapplicable is Weber's pattern to the practiced religion of the Puritans.

Repetitious parts of the diaries have been omitted, and the originals reduced to about half their manuscript extent. The Rogers diary, running through the eventful years 1587 to 1590, is the fuller of the two, and lays open the writer's mind with clearness. The Ward diary is disorderly, and includes undated fragments: it extends from 1595 to about 1640. Ward mentions many obscure and a few eminent persons; the editor has supplied notes identifying a considerable number of these. A map of Essex and the adjacent shires illustrates the principal place references. The original spelling is followed. Archaic words are glossed in footnotes.

Perusal of these revealing documents brings the conviction that our historians of Puritanism have given too little attention to literature of this class. We are too likely to forget that while some Puritans were engaged in intense public conflict, others were far more concerned with the cultivation of their souls and the edification of their obscure associates. In anticipation of the coming of the Armada, Rogers characteristically wrote: "By fearfull noise of warre and trouble in our land I laboured to bringe myne hart to a more neere drawing of it to the deeper contempt of the worlde." Self-critical meditation, and the sharing of its fruits with others, not politics or church reform, are the absorbing interests of these diarists.

John T. McNeill.

The University of Chicago.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

By J. ELLIOT ROSS. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1933.
xxi, 247 pages. \$2.75.

"Father Ross"—so the publishers' statement—"has been associated with the work of the Newman Clubs at the Universities of Texas, Columbia and Illinois. He was the Catholic professor . . . of the School of Religion at the University of Iowa and was a member of the faculty at Teachers College, Columbia University." He brings thus to his task as Newman's latest biographer a long interest and saturation in his subject and recognized scholarship.

He has used the generally accessible sources—they are indicated in his bibliography: the correspondence with Keble and others, the letters edited by Anne Mozley, Wilfred Ward, miscellaneous letters and Newman's writings. There should be, perhaps, in the proper Catholic archives material for phases of Newman's life which are not yet accessible. It seems unlikely that the enterprises with which Newman's name was associated should not have left upon record a deposit of official action. As the sources stand any new life of Newman is very largely a matter of the reorganization of material with such interpretation and comments as the biographer is moved to make in dealing with a character of perpetual challenge and fascination.

Ross dismisses Newman's youth, Oxford and Anglican career in 38 out of 247 pages. He is concise, detached and judicious in these 38 pages but half of Newman's life can not be so condensed without serious loss. He is for one thing over-simplified. Father Ross's Newman who started anew at 45 is essentially a man of outstanding gifts and parts, potentially the greatest single asset of Roman Catholicism in Great Britain, whose usefulness was defeated and whose force was wasted for a long generation by misunderstanding and positive opposition on the part of a faction in the church of his choice until his opponents passed off the stage and the *Apologia* established him in the affections of England.

Since this was entirely an affair within the Roman Catholic communion, Father Ross has felt free to deal with it with a plain-spoken definiteness which a non-Catholic biographer would hesitate to use. Just here is Ross's distinctive contribution and it is all here: the campaign in Ireland, the defeated plan for a Catholic center at Oxford, the failure of the proposed new translation of the Bible and minor tensions in which Newman was caught as in a net. Manning plays a large part in all the later movements—an unfriendly force in the background—until he bowed before the demand of the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquis of Ripon that Newman be made a cardinal with "Fiat Voluntas Tua," and even then he seems to have done what he could to deflect the Divine Will.

Newman, as Ross conceives him, carried into the church his concern for the Via Media. As regards papal infallibility he was midway between the Munich liberals and the Ultramontanes; he wanted intellectual liberty and entire submission to the Curia; he wanted an association of church and educational culture. He was defeated again and again but vindicated in all his main contentions by the course of events. Into this

framework Father Ross has set a straightforward, pleasantly colorful, solid and informing narrative which will be recognized as authoritative.

G. G. Atkins.

Auburn Theological Seminary.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION: 1550-1600

By B. J. KIDD. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1933. 376 pages. \$3.40.

A historian of proved competence, who in his *Documents of the Continental Reformation* has shown his command of the sources of the early history of Protestantism, has written a thorough and informing book on the Catholic revival and reformation of the sixteenth century. Dr. Kidd goes somewhat beyond the dates of his title, for his book opens with the religious awakening in Italy in the twenties of the century, the early history of the Jesuits and the Roman Inquisition from 1542. The Council of Trent then receives a long and valuable chapter. A wealth of significant detail gives understanding of the conflicting forces at work, and even lets us picture some of the scenes. "The Jesuits, 1556-72" is a good example of Dr. Kidd's method of getting impressive effects by piling up telling facts, with little comment. He describes the favorable posture of Protestantism about 1560 by a rapid geographical survey; then shows the Jesuits attacking this situation, and making one conquest after another in Germany, Poland, Hungary, and France. He attributes their success largely to their manifold educational activity; and he thinks that no action of the Council of Trent was more effective for the revival of the church than its provision for clerical education.

"The Great Powers and the Catholic Revival" considers some of the political relations of the movement. Dr. Kidd sees an important situation here. In France, Poland, Hungary, Bavaria, the Tyrol, the Walloon Netherlands, the majority of the peasantry remained Catholic. By actively supporting Catholicism, sovereigns united themselves with the people and strengthened themselves against the nobles. "The Forces behind the Revival, 1572-98" recites various manifestations of the "renewed vitality of the Roman Church" in the reigns of the Popes of the period. The account includes provisions for catechisms, revision of devotional manuals and the liturgy, establishment of seminaries according to the decree of Trent, repressive measures against Protestantism—the Inquisition and the Index, ecclesiastical reforms, political alliances, in all of which the Jesuits were active instruments. Despite the great effects of what is here described, Dr. Kidd sees the greatest resource of the Roman Church in some great religious personalities, such as Borromeo and Philip Neri. It is to be wished that he had developed this more. After a short chapter on the dissensions which weakened Protestantism from the middle of the century, the remainder of the book traces in detail "the course of the reaction" in the countries of Europe from 1572 to the end of the century.

Dr. Kidd's method, as has been suggested, is largely external. He gives us fact after fact, with little interpretation. What of this his book contains is mostly in quotations. His record of facts is not much connected with the intellectual and political movements of the time. Of social and

economic relations he has almost nothing to say. Even theological comment is scanty, for example in the account of Trent. Yet there is satisfaction in a factual record which answers many questions and keeps the reader close to the situation. Dr. Kidd relies somewhat on rather old authorities and does not refer to some recent German works of high value. His ecclesiastical point of view is high Anglican; his chapter on Protestantism shows limited sympathy, and his last paragraph reports as a main result of the Catholic revival that "Protestantism was put on its proper level as consisting of two sects, Protestant and Reformed, separated from each other and from the Catholic church." His narrative, however, is impartial throughout. His book is solidly useful, and superior to anything in English on the subject.

Robert Hastings Nichols.

Auburn Theological Seminary.

JOHN WESLEY AND THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY MALDWYN EDWARDS. New York: Abingdon Press, 1933. 220 pages.
\$1.50.

Wesley has been fortunate in some of his recent biographers who, going beyond religious and ecclesiastical interests, have portrayed him as a factor in the social, economic, and political life of his day. The present volume is decidedly of this type though not so comprehensive in its scope as W. J. Warner's *The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution*. The study bears all the ear-marks of adequate research in the source documents, with citation of references and an extensive bibliography. It is well written, eminently fair and impartial, and a real contribution to our knowledge of the many-sided Wesley.

The author delves deeply into the sources of Wesley's political philosophy and reveals him as depending upon Hobbes' theory of sovereignty as well as Locke's idea of limited monarchy, but going beyond either in his espousal of the "divine right of kings." The critical mind of the reformer loses its sharp edge whenever his beloved monarch is assailed. The Tory in him likewise permitted the great lover of the lower classes to disclaim for them any participation in government. Despite this limitation in the man, the author declares that Wesley's exalted evaluation of the common man made for democracy. Thus when the Reform Act of 1832 was promulgated, the lower and the middle classes were prepared to carry on.

As a political pamphleteer, Wesley had few equals and his influence was enormous. The treatment in this connection of his relation to the colonial cause is exceptionally well done, all extenuating circumstances for Wesley's *volte-face* being given proper consideration. The rabid anti-Catholic bias and propaganda of the otherwise tolerant religious leader also receive satisfactory explanation. One example of the author's independent judgment, running counter to the usually accepted opinion, is his denial that the Wesleyan religious revolution saved England from a bloody revolution like the French. This is based partly upon the fact

that England had accomplished bloodlessly in 1688 that toward which France was violently struggling in 1789.

In various realms of social reform Wesley is rightly regarded as a prominent factor. This holds true even in education where the author, in spite of caustic criticism of Wesley's defective methods and bigoted outlook, gives recognition to the impulse given by the Evangelicals to popular education. The fact that the revivalist's chief aim was individual regeneration rather than social reconstruction cannot impair the actual though sometimes indirect connections sustained by him with extensive social movements. Collectivist action, however, for meeting the pressing problems of poverty and labor distress was not then seen as necessary. The Methodists, according to the author, did not materially retard the spread of greed of the early Industrial Revolution period.

A. W. Nagler.

Garrett Biblical Institute.

SONGS OF PRAISE DISCUSSED

BY PERCY DEARMER. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 560 pages.
\$2.25.

When Percy Dearmer, R. Vaughn Williams and Martin Shaw issued *Songs of Praise* in 1925, it marked an epoch in hymn book making. The success of this venture was so great as to warrant the publishing of an enlarged edition six years later. Now comes Dr. Dearmer with *Songs of Praise Discussed*. The book is in three parts. There are an Introduction dealing with the origin and development of the modern English hymn, a second part which gives a detailed discussion of the hymns and tunes included in *Songs of Praise*, and a third consisting of biographical and historical notes on authors, composers and sources.

A part of the twenty-three pages of the Introduction is devoted to a consideration of the "Prosody of Hymns," in which they are discussed from the standpoint of their metres. This is the most lucid and scholarly presentation of this interesting phase of hymn writing your reviewer has seen.

Each hymn and each tune is presented in a clear, concise way. Especially helpful are the numerous musical illustrations showing the evolution of the tunes. The biographies are interesting and give much information concerning contemporary authors and composers.

Any contribution of Dr. Dearmer's is welcomed by the thoughtful reader. In this work he was ably assisted by Archibald Jacob, who wrote the notes on the music. It is this sort of book one wants in his library. At a time like this, when such a flood of hymnals is being issued, it is doubly welcome.

Robert G. McCutchan.

DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana.

**THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CHURCH
OF ENGLAND**

BY R. H. MALDEN. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 80 pages.
\$1.00.

Under the above caption, the Dean of Wells has presented us with a readable compendium of the historical associations and reactions of Continental and Anglican Catholicism. In four lectures of a popular nature the Dean treats sympathetically the aims and growth of the papacy and the Anglican recoil. With comprehension and clarity there is revealed to us the combination of opportunism and driving necessity that made Continental Catholicism, expressed through an authoritative and mostly autocratic head, logical and efficacious. With equal clarity we are shown that neither necessity or desire warranted the acceptance of the papal system as an essential or abiding element in the English ecclesiastical system. The treatment of the Reformation and its period is helpfully interpretative. Here again we feel the logic of circumstances driving churches and individuals to decision and action.

In the closing chapter the Anglican ideal is unfolded and the four notes of Anglicanism: (1) a comparatively simple system, forming a coherent or rational whole; (2) full recognition of the responsibility of the individual; (3) recognition of knowledge through whatever channels it may come; and (4) comprehensiveness; are tersely presented.

The Dean believes that the justification of Anglicanism is to be found in resisting the temptation (1) to say more than we know to be true; and (2) to foreclose awkward questions by the exercise of authority. It is upon these principles that the church offers its contribution to unity.

The book is an irenic study of the similarity and contradictions of two ecclesiastical forces.

W. Chauncey Emhardt.

New York.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

BY SHANE LESLIE. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1933. 191 pages. \$2.00.

The editor of the series observes in his preface that "to contribute merely another volume" to the three thousand on the Oxford Movement said to have been issued from the press "would be to add just another drop to the vast inundation." He goes on to say that in his opinion the present volume is not just another drop. It is difficult for the reviewer to discover in what ways it is not. There are a brief informative discussion in the Appendix of the causes of the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in England during the past century, and an admirable survey of literature as affected by the Oxford Movement. Otherwise the value of the book, if any, to the student of history lies in the fact that it presents a modern Roman Catholic estimate of the Church of England and incidentally of the Oxford Movement. The writing is marred by the writer's predilection for epigram. This makes entertaining reading for a few

pages but extended to whole chapters it becomes wearisome. And frequently the author is unable to distinguish between clever epigrams and poor puns.

J. A. Muller.

Cambridge, Mass.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF METHODISM IN THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1783—1824

By WALTER B. POSEY. Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Weatherford Printing Co., 1933.
151 pages.

This careful study of the beginnings of Methodism in the region south of the Ohio and west of the Alleghenies is a worthy and welcome addition to the growing literature dealing with the social and religious phases of the history of the early frontier. The region to which the author has devoted his attention calls for separate treatment, since certain factors entered into the picture south of the Ohio which were not present in the old Northwest, such as, for instance, negro slavery.

With the exception of the first and last chapters, the treatment is topical rather than chronological, and rightly so. The topical chapters are particularly well done and while the treatment is fresh and the materials used abundant, the author seems to have advanced no new viewpoints. The author's statement in his preface that the several studies of frontier churches which have appeared previously have left the subject "undisturbed below the surface" gave to this particular reader larger expectations than were realized on reading the book. This does not mean that this study is not well done—in fact it is exceptionally well done—but the disparagement of other workers in the field, in the light of what this book reveals, seems somewhat unfortunate and unwarranted.

W. W. Sweet.

The University of Chicago.

CHICAGO AND THE BAPTISTS: A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

By PERRY J. STACKHOUSE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,
1933. 250 pages. \$3.00.

With compactness and conciseness, which however does not rob the work of interest, Mr. Stackhouse has made his readers see the miraculous growth of the little village of one hundred years ago into a world-renowned city within a generation, which, burned to ashes, rose to new grandeur and to the greater beauty of the present so as to represent most fully within herself the startling progress of a century. But more than this, he has shown how religion is always an integral part of the social order. For though the book in particular tells the story of the Baptists in Chicago during the past century, it does more; it is in a very real sense a history of the religious life of the city during that period. Here are the stories of Jane Addams, Mary McDowell, Graham Taylor, Dwight L. Moody and many others outside the Baptist fold who pioneered in creating new social

forces in the midst of this multitude which came from all the corners of the earth.

But the main purpose of the book is also well fulfilled. The growth of the Baptists from small beginnings and their achievements in educational and missionary activities are fully presented. With its facts well documented it thus becomes truly an authority on Baptist history in this great city.

R. E. E. Harkness.

Crozer Theological Seminary.

THE DIARY OF A CIRCUIT RIDER

Edited by J. H. NEBELTHAU. Minneapolis: The Voyageur Press, 1933.
xiii, 145 pages. \$2.00.

The book consists of excerpts from the notes of Henry Howe, a missionary of the Disciples of Christ, dealing with his work in southern Wisconsin between the years 1864 and 1868. The editor, who is the missionary's granddaughter, had a somewhat exaggerated idea of the value of the diary, which appears to have served as a financial record-book as well as a diary proper. The frequent references to financial transactions, as well as other trivial material of no interest to the reader in search of description of the conditions of those times, greatly lessen the worth of the work. But despite this fact, as a portrayal of the hum-drum existence of a circuit rider of the period it has its merits.

Matthew Spinka.

Chicago Theological Seminary.

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